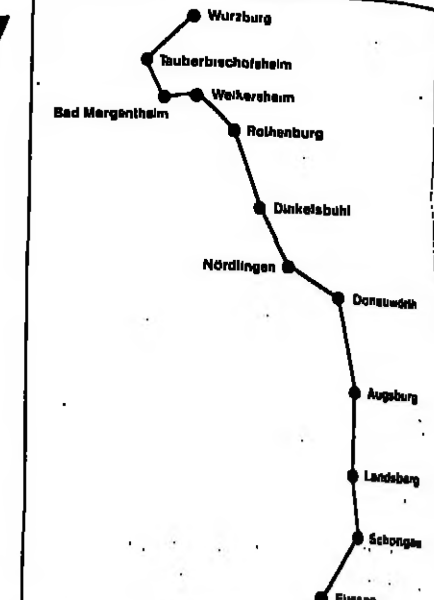
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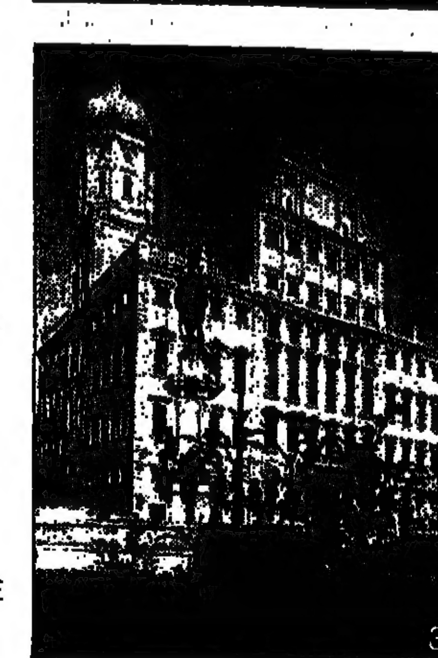
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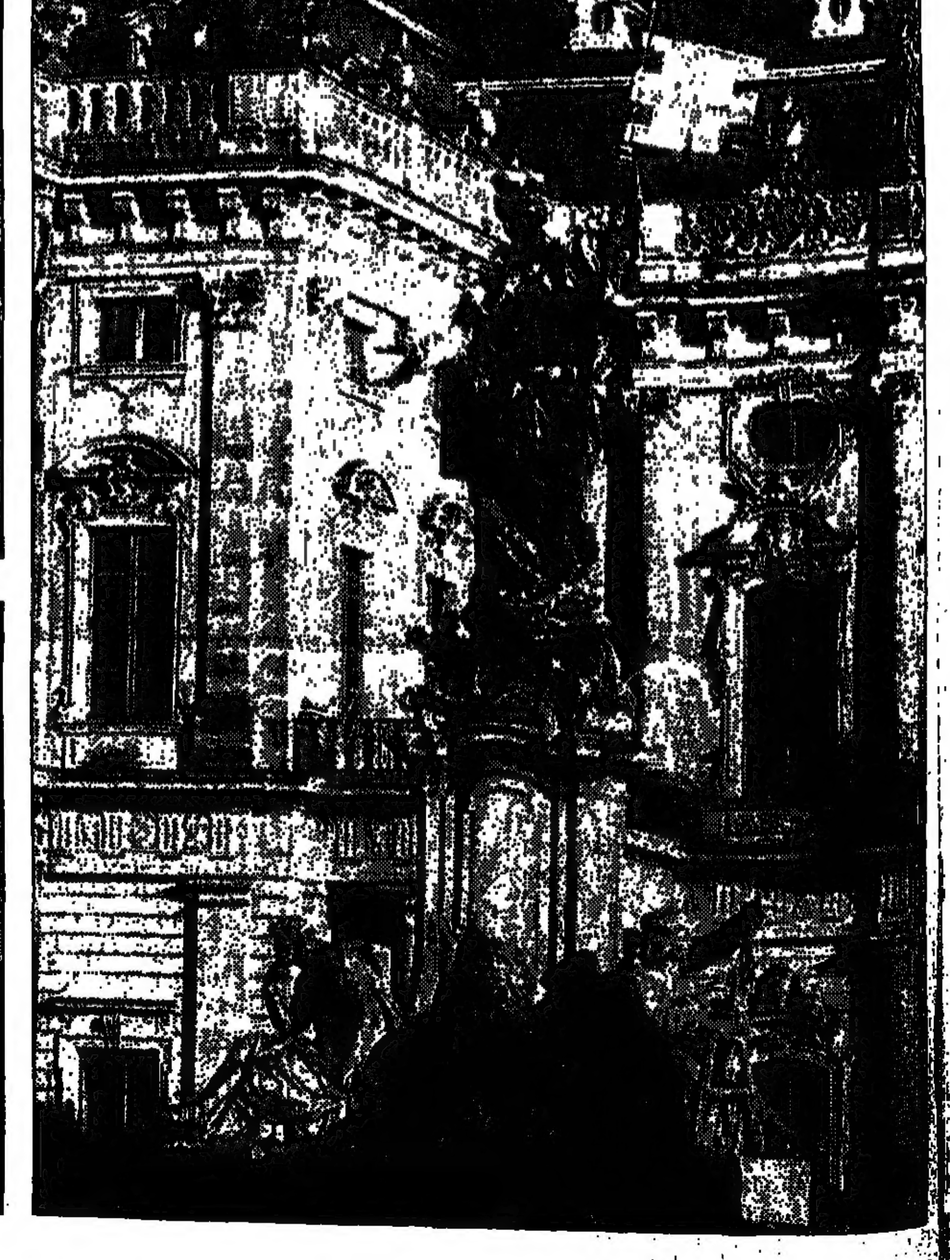
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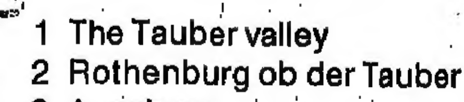








1 The Tauber valley
2 Rothenburg ob der Tauber
3 Augsburg
4 Würzburg



The German Tribune

Hamburg, 21 December 1986
Twenty-fifth year - No. 1256 - By air

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Foreign policy stays firm beneath election rhetoric

Süddeutsche Zeitung

Democrats always have difficulty with their foreign policy. The ideal — a policy endorsed by all leading parties — can as a rule only be achieved at times of national threat.

Otherwise foreign policy is as much an issue for party-political dispute as, say, taxation.

Another handicap is that parties have to think about short-term public views just they do with other issues.

Public opinion can easily be misled by emotions and subjective considerations, making it an unreliable and unsuitable yardstick of national activity.

All this is what George F. Kennan says. He is a former US ambassador in Moscow and inventor of "containment" policy toward the Soviet Union, but now an advocate of far-reaching arms control.

Kennan's words have lost none of their significance. They make the point that *democracies, unlike dictatorships which* need not trouble themselves with parties, the media and public opinion, always feel at a disadvantage and are able neither to plan in the long term nor to react swiftly.

This is particularly true during election campaigns when democracies are frequently paralysed and slogans conceal the principles that ought to be the yardstick of a country's true interests.

The Federal Republic is in the throes of just such a general election campaign, and foreign and security policy are being hotly disputed not only between government and opposition but also among the Bonn coalition parties.

Yet, behind the words, the outlines and constants of German foreign policy can be made out with little difficulty.

The prime factor is this country's firm anchorage in the Western alliance. Given *its hazardous geopolitical location it can* risk neither "equidistance" between Washington and Moscow nor a "special road" jeopardising the protection afforded by the Western alliance and, at home, the Western democratic system it has taken such pains to master.

Equal distance from both superpowers would be nothing other than to embark on just such a special road, but that is not to say that the Federal Republic must feel or behave like a US satellite.

What it must do is bring its weight in the Western alliance to bear in support of a policy serving both our own and the common interests.

That may be difficult with a United States in the throes of a phase of greater national self-assertion, but it is indispensable.

"Good-neighbourly" relations with the Soviet Union, for which Chancellor Kohl has just called again, are equally indispensable. But they cannot be seen — or established — in isolation from East-West ties.

The Federal Republic does not have enough leeway or carry enough weight of its own to maintain cordial relations with Moscow irrespective of the international political climate.

In other words, the more influence Bonn exerts in the Western alliance, the greater the weight it carries in Moscow.

It can only exert this influence in an alliance where views are as uniform as possible. Its voice counts for little in a pact whose members are at loggerheads with each other.

It follows that the Federal Republic must constantly advocate a realistic improvement in East-West relations in both East and West.

There must be no imbalance and no going it alone, not even with East Germany, on issues relating to the alliance.

A state of the Federal Republic's size and in its geopolitical location cannot afford to run the risk of isolation.

The Federal Republic is not a nuclear power, but nuclear weapons are stored on its territory. It cannot trigger nuclear hostilities but it can become involved in them.

So it is in Germany's interest to help maintain the balance of terror that has held sway for 40 years and to help ensure that it is gradually stabilised at a lower level and not progressively intensified.

That calls for a cautious approach including cordial relations with the superpowers and even better ties with neighbouring European countries.

The Europeans must be careful. Reykjavik may not have achieved results, but ties between Washington and Moscow have since got moving.

President Reagan's position may have been weakened by "Irangate" but that is all the more reason why he should urgently need a foreign policy diversion.

The choice he faces is clear. He can either resume the struggle against the "realm of evil" or try after all to come to terms with Mr Gorbachov on arms control.

If he went for the first, he would delight only his old friends; the second would win him new supporters.

So the debate on the repercussions of Reykjavik, theoretical and confused though it may seem to be at present, is essential. Renewed debate in London, Paris and Bonn on foreign and security policy *essentials* shows how worried the Europeans are that their interests might come second-best in a deal between Washington and Moscow.

Three main issues are at stake:

- Can conventional forces take the place of nuclear arms?
- Might a threat of "decoupling" from the United States then occur, especially if Washington were to reduce and withdraw conventional forces from Europe?
- Must the proposed first step, the zero option for medium-range missiles in Europe, be seen in connection with Soviet superiority in short-range (up to 1,000km) missiles and conventional forces?

Nato Foreign and Defence Ministers have clearly drawn a link — without calling for linkage. The Europeans, having constantly called for the zero option, could hardly cast their credibility to the winds.

Yet they face a dilemma. The zero option would deprive them of a link in the chain of Nato's flexible response strategy.

Raising the nuclear threshold by means *of more conventional forces is not enough;* it would be money wasted so long as the other side retained tactical nuclear weapons of any great rance.

The mere threat of their use would force any conventional army to give up. So

Continued on page 3

President Mubarak arrives for a chat

Egypt's President Mubarak (left) is welcomed in Stuttgart by Chancellor Kohl for a round of talks. He was on his way from France to Rumania. (Photo: dpa)

Nato ministers make offer to the Kremlin

The Brussels autumn conference of Nato Foreign Ministers showed that the Atlantic alliance remains capable of reaching joint decisions despite the turbulence in Washington.

As one of the few leading US politicians barely associated with the Iran arms deal, Secretary of State Shultz, succeeded in conveying the impression that the Reagan administration was unswerving on disarmament and security policy.

That strengthened America's allies in their resolve to lend this policy visible support.

The meeting was an offer to talk with the Soviets about conventional arms and an appeal to them to agree in Geneva to a 50-per-cent cut in offensive weapons and to a medium-range missile zero option in Europe without SDI linkage.

The Nato Foreign Ministers felt, much as Bonn does, that an agreement on medium-range missiles cannot be reached heedless of Soviet shorter-range superiority.

It must include an undertaking to hold negotiations on them too.

After the visions of Reykjavik it was good to hear confirmation that Nato's deterrent strategy remains "on the basis of adequate conventional and nuclear defence".

The final message mentioned the desire for "wide-ranging and constructive dialogue" with the Soviet Union and for "East-West relations aimed at greater cooperation."

Bonn's Hans-Dietrich Genscher welcomed this. A realistic Ostpolitik can only be based on a combination of the two.

Bernt Conrad
(Die Welt, Bonn, 13 December 1…)

IN THIS ISSUE

The next edition of THE GERMAN TRIBUNE will appear on 4 January

■ COMMENTARY

Berlin birthday celebrations throw up ticklish problems of protocol

On New Year's Day a concert in the East Berlin Schauspielhaus will be the first of many events in honour of the 750th anniversary of the founding of Berlin.

In West Berlin the anniversary year is getting off to a slower start, with exhibitions in March on "Berlin Cityscapes" and "750 Years of Architecture and Town Planning."

Events in East and West will later follow in swift succession: exhibitions, concerts, stage shows, festivities, congresses and one conference after another.

Views may differ on concepts or on the trouble and expense, but Berlin's 750th anniversary (or, arguably, that of its mediaeval twin settlement on the river Spree, Cölln, the first recorded mention of which dates back to 1237) has already had one effect.

More thought and discussion are being devoted to the city.

Consideration is being given on both sides to what is to become of the two halves of the city, how they are to get on with each other and how they are to live with the four wartime Allies, whose writ by no means extends solely to West Berlin.

This issue assumes practical importance — and becomes highly explosive, as will be seen — in connection with Governing Mayor Eberhard Diepgen and whether he should accept or decline invitations by East Berlin state council chairman Erich Honecker and Oberbürgermeister Erhard Krack of East Berlin.

The one is an invitation to attend East Berlin's official state ceremony in honour of the anniversary, the other an invitation to attend a meeting of mayors from all over the world.

Both then tried to ease the decision for Mayor Diepgen, using anniversary letterheads in their capacities as festival committee chairman and vice-chairman respectively, only then appending their official government titles.

Mayor Krack sent other mayors different letters.

But can Herr Diepgen attend an official East Berlin ceremony at all when the West regards all Berlin as a Four-Power city forming an integral part of neither the Federal Republic nor East Germany?

Since 1983, when his predecessor, Richard von Weizsäcker, visited Herr Honecker — and since the agreement by which West Berlin took over the S-Bahn, a suburban electric railway previously run by the East Germans in the West, — the accepted formula has been a practical "issues of status are not affected."

Berlin's status was defined in the 1944 London Agreement and reaffirmed in the 1971 Four-Power Agreement, with practical additional provisions being made.

German politicians would be unable to change the position because, for one, they have no say in the matter. Besides, a man in Mayor Diepgen's position cannot even allow the impression to arise that he is prepared to undermine the city's status.

This is a point he is bound to bear in mind in deciding whether or not to accept the invitations to East Berlin, much though he would undoubtedly like to accept them.

Developments over the decade and a half that has elapsed since the Four-Power Agreement have led to previously unforeseen changes in relations between West Berlin and its environs.

Both sides have learnt how to deal with each other more pragmatically. Ought Berlin politicians to await further developments, letting others take the lead, or do they have greater leeway than has been imagined for moves of their own?

New notes have come to the fore in the debate, and been sounded by the Berlin Senate, for some time.

Home Affairs Senator Wilhelm Kewenig called in 1984, as Science Senator, for Berlin — no matter how justified it might be in insisting on inalienable legal positions — "to cautiously but courageously emerge from its view of its role as that of a mere object of Bonn's Deutschlandpolitik."

Early this year Herr Diepgen said: "Being in the right does not, as a rule, contribute much toward changing a state of affairs.

"It can maintain them, and that is its value, and a high one, in Deutschlandpolitik. But we must not be satisfied in the long term with merely upholding the existing state of affairs."

In this connection Justice and Federal Affairs Senator Rupert Scholz seems, incidentally, to have settled for sounding a warning note, saying there need be no speculation about "developments" in Berlin status.

Such self-assured statements amount in practice to a modified attitude toward the Allies, who are seen even by younger CDU politicians in Berlin as



being mainly to blame for impeding desirable change with reference to the city's legal status.

That isn't entirely the case. There is ample staying power and legal hairsplitting at Schöneberg *Rathaus* and at CDU headquarters in Berlin and Bonn too.

Even so, the slogan of "dynamic interpretation of Berlin status" has emerged, and whenever one asks what it is supposed to mean it turns out that no changes in the status itself are envisaged but that it could be better interpreted to enable a more dynamic approach to be adopted.

Views on how to set about it are either vague or contradictory, especially as the debate has so far been conducted almost entirely in camera.

Views differ in Berlin on, say, the starting-point. The ruling Christian and Free Democrats seem spellbound by East Berlin, impressed in part by the professional way in which East Germany has prepared for the city's anniversary celebrations.

They are worried the result might prove to be a gain in importance for East Germany's de facto capital city, with West Berlin having too little offer as a counterweight.

Younger-generation businessmen and representatives of science and the arts in contrast shake their heads in disbelief at such a faint-hearted outlook.

They know that West Berlin is effervescing, full of dynamism and readiness to set out for new frontiers, rich in resources and more than a match for the East Bloc countries, including East Germany, economically, scientifically, artistically and ideologically.

These differences in self-assessment naturally lead to differences in behaviour. If you feel you have less leverage you are going to use more force; if you feel you have more leverage you are going to adopt a more relaxed attitude.

That partly accounts for differences in outlook and the resulting differences in viewpoint between the city's government and the Western Allies.

Western diplomats have greater confidence in their own strength and in the powers of attraction exercised by Western society.

West Berlin politicians in contrast tend to let themselves be blinded by East Berlin's role as a capital city, as evidenced by visits paid by Western European statesmen as well as East Bloc leaders.

They are fascinated by the restoration of East Berlin's city centre and make little headway with redesigning the centre of West Berlin.

City officials at Schöneberg *Rathaus* say care must be taken to deal freely, easily and offensively with East Germany rather than just looking on as the world and his wife meet in East Berlin.

Yet Berlin must at the same time be as fully integrated in the West as possible and not allow itself to decoupled from developments.

The worries to which these words testify account for the objectives. Ties with the Federal Republic, with Western Europe and with the Atlantic alliance must be as close as possible.

Much is surely still possible in this respect, without the slightest change in Berlin's status, and the more self-assured the city is and the less it clamours for moral support and financial assistance, the more interesting it will be for others.

On the basis of this close Western integration West Berlin will also be in a position to extend official and unofficial contacts with East Berlin and East Germany and to make more personal contacts possible.

Mayor Diepgen, for instance, recently attended a concert given by the 12 cellists of the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra at the East Berlin Schauspielhaus.

Mayor Kleemann of Zehlendorf, the Berlin borough bordering on Potsdam, is keen to make contact with Potsdam's municipal authorities to harmonise town and country planning along the Havel, with its castles and gardens.

These are developments that would have been inconceivable a few years ago. What is inconceivable today may in turn no longer be so tomorrow.

The third aspect of Berlin politics alongside ties with the West and contacts with the East is the city's international role.

Here too there is much lamentation, with Berlin being said to have failed to find a convincing new role, since it ceased to be a front-line city and shop-window of the Western world.

Yet what a substantial reputation the city's universities, its many research institutes and Federal government agencies enjoy!

What vitality some companies, the BIG and TIP industrial development centres and the Technology Agency as a linchpin of business research exudes!

What prestige art and the arts in can be said to call their own!

No city can make do with one only, and much is still conceivable just as a number of opportunities been missed — in international ies.

The range of possibilities from a Helsinki review conference both parts of the city to an experimental stage workshop run jointly by European opera houses.

The idea of making Berlin an international service centre and venue of East-West dialogue strongly calls to ideas devised after the 1971 Four-Power Agreement was signed.

Little came of them then, but there a difference between now and the 1970s when concepts were based on hopes that the East Bloc would be willing to help West Berlin to add to its roles.

It wasn't, and the view that currently prevails is that West Berlin must, under its own steam and in conjunction with the West, be made so interesting that East Bloc countries are keen to be invited to take part in festivals and sporting events, conferences and symposiums, and joint ventures in the widest sense of the term, including science and the arts.

Initial successes are apparent, but what has this all to do with Berlin's status?

Four-Power status consists of little more than the fact that the Allies occupied the city, retaining supreme power and responsibility, and that the presence of the Western Allies ensures access and the city's security and viability.

No changes can be made to these international legal circumstances without abandoning Berlin to an uncertain future.

But much that is seen as forming part of this status is no longer regarded as immutable by the city's ruling politicians at either the international level or local government level.

Consideration is even being given to change in the principle that Berlin members of the Bonn Bundestag are co-opted rather than directly elected.

And where Allied legislation or established viewpoints stand in the way, developments influence may, it is felt, be brought to bear on them.

Yet the "dynamism of Berlin's status" is no magic political spell by means of which any objective can be achieved. Most essential developments are possible without affecting the city's status the least. They entail political action, not status.

long as Berlin's political quality is to improve on a reputation for provinciality and jobs for the boys little political progress can be expected, and anyone who plans to fiddle with the city's status instead can expect the Allies to call him firmly to order.

Joachim Nawrocki

(Die Zeit, Hamburg, 12 December 1986)

The German Tribune

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■ HOME AFFAIRS

MPs work out a revised code of conduct

Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger

One of the main topics in the last Bundestag session of the year was working out a revised code of conduct for members.

The driving force for this was principally the Flick affair, in which the giant industrial conglomerate was alleged to have been given tax breaks in exchange for paying money into party political funds.

The new rules of conduct, which replaced the code laid down in 1972, were accepted by the CDU, CSU, FDP and most SPD members.

The code thus represents a compromise, with all the typical strengths and weaknesses compromises tend to possess.

The Greens were upset. In their view the code has not gone far enough towards their vision of turning MPs into unprotected citizens with no rights. This was a genuine risk following the Flick affair, but it has been resisted.

Thoughtless remarks have often been made in the past that the salaries and parliamentary allowances of politicians should be cut.

In very much the same vein many people claim that parliamentarians should not be entitled to the privacy other citizens have.

A transparent politician with transparent pockets, however, will not become a reality, since it was quite rightly pointed out that politicians in the Bundestag are also entitled to legal protection in line with the principle of "informational self-determination" elaborated by the Federal Constitutional Court in Karlsruhe, that is, entitled to the protection of their personal data.

This also applies to information on their sources and levels of income.

The nevertheless undisputed need for transparency and the disclosure of income of parliamentary delegates is solely rooted in the need to ensure that delegates do not find themselves faced by a clash of interests due to donations by or income from trade associations or private industry.

Such conflicting interests could induce politicians to neglect or abuse their duty to represent the electorate as a whole.

What is needed is some means of controlling this risk and not the interpretation in public of the politician's tax declaration.

This basic principle has been safeguarded in the new code of conduct via the fact that incomes now have to be disclosed to the presidium of the Bundestag and the chairmen of the parliamentary parties, but need not be published in the Bundestag gazette.

All other details, however, have been completely unsatisfactorily solved and the solution found is unlikely to increase public confidence.

Personal donations received by Bundestag members, for example, need only then be declared if they exceed DM10,000.

A person or group, however, can undoubtedly bring their interest to bear for less than this amount.

Furthermore, an assessment of activities in this field should concentrate on income from activities received before the politicians in question took up their seats in parliament and not merely on the income received during their period as Bundestag members.

Only this kind of investigation will reveal whether certain lobbies enabled the Bundestag members to move into parliament in the first place.

The special regulations included for doctors and lawyers because of their professional pledge to confidentiality and right to refuse to give evidence are also far from convincing.

There is no need to protect patients and clients with regard to the financial side of the professional relationship.

What is more, over 100 members of the Bundestag are full-time jurists, who can now claim that they are lawyers and thus avoid the otherwise compulsory disclosure of their sources of income.

This group of persons includes those who were involved in recent bribery scandals.

An attempt by Hildegard Hamm-Brücher (FDP) to make parliamentary debates livelier and more appealing has more or less failed.

Indeed, legislatory practices and the nature of parliamentary discussions, especially during this parliamentary term, make parliamentary reform seem essential.

In some instances only very brief discussions were held on key laws, for example, just one-and-a-half hours on the anti-terrorist laws.

The bills were often submitted to the committees at such a speed that all they could do was vote rather than advise.

There has been a definite trend towards discussing more and more political issues within the framework of coalition talks held in the Bonn Chancellery rather than in the Bundestag.

Even the parliamentary parties often found themselves faced by a fait accompli.

Lengthy debates on crucial issues affecting vital sociopolitical developments no longer took place.

Political discussion on issues of public interest was in many cases only held during question time and generally initiated by the newcomers in the Bundestag, the Greens.

Without their initiative parliamentary activities would have become completely stultified.

The fact that the date of the general election was set for January also had an adverse effect on the quality of the Bundestag's work.

The previous ruling according to which the election had to take place in autumn meant that any laws to be passed in the election year had to get through parliament by the end of June.

This was followed by a recess and then by the election campaign proper.

Now that legislative activities can take place right up until the election itself useful discussion on the issues has often been replaced by pure polemics.

Even parliamentary investigation committees, which were previously regarded as a respectable means of shedding some light on the darker side of certain political events, were turned into cheapjack instruments of election campaigning.

The espionage committee and the committee investigating the sale of submarine construction plans by a West German shipyard to South Africa are just two cases in point.

The next Bundestag would be well-advised to take a closer and self-critical look at itself in the mirror.

Heinz-Joachim Melder

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, Cologne, 12 December 1986)

Viewers protest about rowdy televised Bundestag debates

Heckling has always been part of debate in the Bundestag. Hecklers over-stepping the mark have, up to now, run the risk of getting a reprimand only from the Speaker. But sessions are now televised live and not all viewers like what they see and hear. Many are complaining about what they see as a decline in debating standards.

Richard Stücklen, who was deputising for the Speaker, must have thought he had misheard: did you call some of the members a mob? he asked Social Democrat MP Ingrid Matthäus-Meier.

"Indeed I did," she replied, "and that's the only way I can describe such howling."

As this debate on the federal budget was being broadcast live on radio and TV the entire nation was able to witness how Frau Matthäus-Meier was called to order twice within 15 seconds, a Bundestag record.

Three calls to order on the same issue would have obliged the Speaker to ask her to step down from the rostrum.

The Bundestag is at the moment in a temporary building which has the embarrassing acoustic quality of clearly relaying rumblings of members all too audibly on television.

Roughly 120 people rang up to protest about what they heard on 30 November alone; letters followed.

This unusual outburst of public protest has incuded the *Ältestenrat*, an all-party parliamentary advisory committee, to commission a pilot survey on the impact on the public of live TV and radio broadcasts of parliamentary proceedings.

The survey is scheduled to last three weeks.

In the meantime, citizens have been assured that the political parties will conduct their discussions with more decorum.

The Deputy Speaker of the FDP in the Bundestag, Dieter Julius Cronenberg, feels that heckling is an essential part of parliamentary debating.

"I know that heckling is the spice of a debate," he said during the budget debate.

"I enjoy doing so myself. But the phone calls we have received — some of them from abroad — have increased to an alarming degree. Callers are complaining about the House."

And, he continued, "you could all do a great deal to improve the image of parliamentarianism if you behaved in a reasonable and restrained manner."

This appeal, which had already been made by the Bundestag Speaker himself, Philipp Jenninger (CDU/CSU), didn't have much effect.

The spirit of the appeal was again reiterated in the closing words of the debate spoken by the Deputy Speaker of the SPD in the Bundestag, Heinz Westphal:

"I wish you all a good weekend. Please remember during the election campaign that it can be fought with much higher standards than those to which we are accustomed."

Cronenberg described the problem in greater detail in a statement given to *Die Welt*:

"Because of the tougher nature of political discussions hecklers try to say more in their statements than the speakers themselves.

"Things get unpleasant and unacceptable when remarks made by hecklers more or less cancel each other out, even though they are all audible for the general public."

Bundestag members did not deserve the damage thus done to their reputation, since they could hardly be expected to behave like meek lambs.

Vivacity is essential in the Bundestag, Cronenberg believes, and is even encouraged by a number of procedural tricks.

The Bundestag Speaker, for example, can turn interruptions into proper questions and thus satisfy the person speaking by deducting the time taken for the question from the ten minutes each speaker has to state his or her case.

For this reason the Speaker, and only the Speaker, has a clock with a second hand which runs backwards and which he can stop whenever the person speaking is interrupted.

Cronenberg admits, however, that the Speaker's room to manoeuvre in this respect depends on the specific "circumstances of the debate".

Despite the criticism heckling will remain an essential part of parliamentary procedure in the Bundestag.

Willy Brandt, for example, was officially interrupted 68 times during the speech he gave in the budget debate.

The budget debate speech delivered by Reinhard Metz (CDU/CSU) look very much like patchwork in its printed form, full of bits of his speech and interruptions of almost equal length.

In view of this situation Hans-Günther Hoppe (FDP) cited a remark made by Walter Rathenau in 1919:

"Democracy is only the rule of the people in the hands of a politically-minded people — in the hands of an uneducated and unpolitical people it becomes clubbiness and petty-bourgeois alehouse politics."

Public protesters against parliamentary heckling may find Hoppe's call for greater restraint even more acceptable in view of the fact that the interruptions have not been all that witty recently anyway ("pharisee", "babbler", "untruth").

Even the way Willy Brandt once skilfully avoided being called to order by saying "Please do not prevent me from calling you a wind-bag" is a rare occurrence.

Eberhard Nitschke

(Die Welt, Bonn, 3 December 1986)

Continued from page 1

French Premier Chirac is right from both German and his own viewpoint in calling for retention of the nuclear deterrent as the supreme European security principle.

Reducing to zero the number of medium-range nuclear missiles in Europe would be a first step in the direction of more comprehensive arms limitation, but it would not solve European security problems unless more moves followed.

The dispute is likely to gain in intensity if the zero option becomes a serious possibility, and in this context Bonn needs both close ties with Washington and Paris and cordial relations with Moscow.

There is no alternative to fully comprehensive disarmament talks.

Dieter Schröder

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 13 December 1986)

GERMANY

The reverse side of the affluent society: down and out and on the dole

Herbert Kögel, 41, tells a tale typical of growing poverty in an affluent society:

"I don't need to worry just yet but in a month's time at the latest I will be drawing social security benefit.

"We have DM3,200 a month at present, but DM2,000 of that will go when I am out of work.

"Then my wife, my son and I will have to make do with a sum corresponding to the social security baseline.

"Yet the financial loss upsets me less than no longer being able to earn a living."

Kögel was sacked in 1983 after lengthy illness. He had driven a forklift truck but could no longer do heavy manual work.

So the state social security scheme paid for him to retrain as a white-collar worker. After passing his course he worked for five months as an adviser at a self-help centre.

It was a government-subsidised job, with the labour exchange paying 80 and the social security department 20 per cent. The social security department has now backed down.

If the 20 per cent could be met from some other source he could carry on working. He has had offers from a local authority and from a further education centre.

He has a long track record of social commitment. He is skilled at dealing with people and as a mediator. His skills are in demand.

"They said my job prospects were great," he says. "I have retrained and learnt a new trade. Has it all been in vain?"

He will certainly soon be out of work again, and as he hasn't been back at work for 12 months he will not qualify for full unemployment benefit.

If he were to apply for social security because his reduced-rate unemployment benefit is not enough to make ends meet the social security department would bill his parents.

Besides, his wife's pay from her part-time job would count toward the family's earnings, so in effect they would qualify for no supplementary benefit in any case.

Herbert Kögel's case is by no means exceptional. More and more people are having to make ends meet with full or reduced-rate unemployment benefit.

He has the unusual opportunity of a job waiting for him that would cost the social security department less than it might otherwise have to contribute toward his upkeep. But the regulations are against him.

Over two million people are currently registered as unemployed in the Federal Republic of Germany, including 1.3m recipients of unemployment benefit.

Long-term unemployment and progressive cuts in benefit have made the position of the jobless perceptibly worse since the mid-1970s, says the research unit of the Federal Labour Office, Nuremberg.

In 1981 six months in unemployment insurance contributions was enough to entitle a claimant to sign on for unemployment benefit.

Since 1982 claimants must have paid unemployment insurance for at least 12 months to qualify for benefit at the full rate, while claimants must have been employed for at least 150 days, previously 70, to qualify for benefit at the reduced rate.

Benefit is assessed on the basis of the claimant's last take-home salary. Overtime, Christmas and holiday money are no longer taken into account.

As a result growing numbers of unemployed qualify for supplementary social security benefit because they simply don't have enough to feed, clothe and house themselves and their families.

An even more alarming trend is the number of people out of work who no longer qualify for unemployment benefit of any kind and rely wholly on social security benefits.

In 1984 there were 2.6m social security claimants as against 1.7m in 1983. Last year, according to estimates by the Standing Conference of German Town Councils, social security payments increased 16 per cent nationwide.

Amounts and percentages vary, social security being a *Land* or local authority responsibility. In North Rhine-Westphalia, for instance, social security payments were up 23 per cent last year.

In 1985 Cologne had 24,139 claimants, including 10,692 out of work. Social security offices are no longer besieged solely by pensioners, the handicapped, large families and the homeless.

Claimants now include men and women who used to live in what were considered sound economic circumstances. They are the people meant by the term "new poverty."

Engelbert Fröhlich, head of the Chorweiler self-help group in Cologne, disagrees. "Poverty," he says, "isn't new; it has merely grown more widespread."

He and his group ought to know. They have worked since 1977 in a high-rise suburb of the cathedral city. His



clients demonstrate better than any statistics what life is like for the unemployed and their families.

In 1977 the group issued hardship cases with bread coupons worth DM80-100. By 1981 the figure had increased to DM800. Today they budget for DM2,500 in bread coupons, but it has long ceased to be enough to help the needy.

"Twenty people used to call round for a coupon entitling them to a free loaf of bread," Fröhlich says. "Now there are 1,000. Many can't make ends meet with their social security benefit."

Social security, the Act states, is intended to enable people who cannot manage by themselves to live in dignity. But how much do you need to live in dignity?

A basket of food and other necessities was agreed in 1970 to meet the monthly needs of an adult. The cost of its contents has since been the basic social security allowance.

The social security department also pays rent, health insurance and grants toward the cost of clothing, household goods and furniture.

The *Länder* agreed that these rates were to be regularly increased in keeping with the rise in the cost of living. But they can't be said to have kept pace with it for years.

The current basic social security allowance ranges from DM379 to DM395. It isn't enough to live on yet too little, as the saying goes, to die.

The Muhrs, a family of six, have DM700 a month in unemployment and social security benefit on which to live after deduction of fixed costs such as rent and insurance.

They can't afford luxuries such as sausage, lemonade or sweets for the children. They can't afford to go out for a coffee in the afternoon either, and certainly not the whole family.

All they can afford by way of an outing is a visit to the nearest public park with a packet of home-made sandwiches.

"You can get by without all manner of things," says Monika Muhr, still a young woman. "I've given up smoking and can't afford cosmetics, lipstick or nail polish, let alone a nice pullover. Yet we make ends meet somehow or other."

Frau Muhr doesn't see herself as poor. "I have to do my sums," she says, "but we have enough to eat and I'm proud to feel I manage to make ends meet."

She is annoyed that the effort she puts in goes unacknowledged and unrewarded by the social security department, for instance: "Surely they must realise we don't want anything for nothing and find it hard enough in any case."

Teachers too don't stop to think whether all families can afford it, she says, when planning expensive outings or insisting on special books. "I always feel so embarrassed at having to phone the school to say we're a bit hard up."

Christa Wagner has at times felt like giving up. She has only kept up the struggle for the sake of her two children. She sought refuge from her wife-battering husband at a women's centre in Bonn with a suitcase, her children and not a penny in cash.

She still recalls her first visit to the social security office:

"I felt very awkward and insecure, especially as the clerk asked me very intimate questions before finally giving me a voucher for DM80.

"That was supposed to enable me to look after myself and the two children for the next week. I went to the supermarket and worked out in detail what we really needed.

"When I handed my voucher to the cashier she checked everything in my trolley to make sure I had no cigarettes, alcohol or coffee.

"Social security wasn't supposed to pay for them. Everyone knew right away that I was living on social security."

There has been a substantial increase in the number of single-parent families living on social security. In the early 1980s there were 130,000 women in this position; by 1984 they numbered 173,000.

Women often fail to qualify for unemployment benefit and have much greater difficulty than men in finding a job. They frequently can't work anyway because of the children.

It took Christa Wagner eight months to find an apartment. "When we moved in," she recalls, "we had nothing. Two mattresses, a linen basket, a folding table and two chairs.

"I had to skimp on food to pay for pots and pans, crockery and cutlery."

She applied to the social security department for furniture and clothing grants.

Local authority officials often call round without notice to check the apartment, cupboards and all, to make sure she really doesn't have the goods she has applied for.

"It's so embarrassing when officials root around my linen counting the number of brassieres and vests," she says.

When she applied for pyjamas for her three-year-old son she was turned down. If she had looked after his previous pyjamas properly, she was told, they couldn't yet be worn out.

The social security just didn't want to know that her son was a bed-wetter, so his pyjamas had to washed more often than the rule.

"Living on social security," Frau Wagner says, "means constant trouble and annoyance. And unless you know exactly what you're entitled to you won't get it."

Mothers and families then often have no choice but to call round at charities and see what old clothes and furniture they have.

Irene Jung runs the Caritas second-hand goods centre in Bonn. "Ten years ago," she says, "maybe 18 people a week called. Now there can be as many as 40 a day."

They crowd the lobby at 7 a.m. waiting to be allowed into the old kitchen at the Caritas office where old clothes are kept carefully arranged by size. Demand is so heavy that shelves are always empty.

Winter overcoats, socks and warm blankets are in particularly short supply, and charities are by no means alone in feeling the pinch of growing hardship.

The debt advice service of the Catholic Men's Association in Cologne reports growing trouble with debts. The longer people are out of work the more serious their financial difficulties become.

They have less ready cash and instalments on furniture, stereo and video equipment and the car grow harder and harder to meet.

Families get into growing financial trouble, due in part to the tricks of unscrupulous loan sharks and the suggestive power of advertising.

"People consult me for advice," says Albert Würtz of the debt advice centre, "who haven't a penny to their names and are starving because creditors have taken away everything.

"I used to tell them to work a shift at the market to earn a little extra cash, but those days are over."

The Cologne debt advice centre offers clients a long-term personal service covering financial, social and, let us say, mental problems.

At present it is helping 120 people with despairing newcomers calling daily and having to be sent away because the centre, one of the largest in the country, is working at peak capacity.

"Many of our clients are so heavily in debt and at their wits' end financially that they are beyond hope for the future," Würtz says.

Once you have been unemployed long enough to end up relying on social security you are bound, with unemployment at its present level, to have difficulty in ever getting back on your feet.

Electricity and heating can be switched off for non-payment of bills. People have to leave their flats, having been served notice to quit for the same reason.

Social isolation, destitution and even homelessness can result, and poverty

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PERSPECTIVE

Carl von Ossietzky, the man who defied the Nazis and accepted a Nobel Prize

The last time Carl von Ossietzky wrote anything in opposition to the Nazi regime was in 1936 as he lay seriously ill in a Berlin hospital: "After careful consideration, I have decided to accept the Nobel peace prize which I have been awarded.

"I do not share the view expressed by representatives of the state's secret police (Gestapo) that this would exclude me from the *Volksgemeinschaft* (Nazi jargon for society)."

The message was written on a torn scrap of greying paper.

Von Ossietzky was a German pacifist leader who had been first imprisoned before the Nazis came to power, in 1931, for revealing the country's secret rearmament plans in the columns of a newspaper he edited.

He was released in 1932, but was sent to a concentration camp in the year Hitler came to power, 1933. He remained incarcerated until 1936, when he was removed to hospital.

His nomination as a candidate for the Nobel peace prize was a thorn in the flesh of Nazi leaders.

The Gestapo and even Hermann Göring himself had tried to put pressure on Ossietzky to refuse to accept the peace prize awarded to him by the Norwegian Nobel Prize Committee on 23 November, 1936.

He was forced to stand to attention for a whole hour while Göring continuously implored him to change his mind, finally offering him a lifetime pension of 500 Reichsmarks as well as his personal freedom.

However, even after three years detention in a concentration camp the small and frail prisoner was unwilling to be swayed by threats or promises.

He told Göring: "I was a pacifist, and a pacifist I shall remain."

In 1935 Thomas Mann had appealed to the Nobel Prize Committee that awarding the Nobel peace prize to concentration camp prisoner Carl von Ossietzky would represent an "act of liberation".

An act, said Mann, "which would not only strengthen the belief in the power of good in the heart of this one man, but also in the millions of tormented hearts which are on the point of doubting the existence of good in the negligence and darkness of this age."

Political refugees from Germany were the first to call for the Nobel peace prize for Carl von Ossietzky in 1934.

The first proper recommendation was submitted following efforts by Hellmut von Gerlach, Albert Einstein and Ernst Toller.

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doesn't begin when you have neither a roof over your head nor enough to eat.

"The yardstick of poverty today," according to a brochure issued in 1970 by the Rhineland-Palatinate Social Affairs Ministry, "cannot be merely to ensure the bare minimum needed to ensure physical survival. People must be enabled to live in dignity."

You would surely think so in one of the world's most affluent industrial countries.

Barbara Dreifert

(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, Bonn, 5 December 1986)



There was hardly a German émigré at that time who did not campaign for Ossietzky.

Scattered throughout the world they joined together to proclaim a single goal: "Save Carl von Ossietzky!"

One major problem was how to get the publicity they needed for their cause in a foreign country and in a foreign language.

It often seemed as if the governments of their host countries were blind to the injustice existing in Germany.

Most of them had long since made their peace with Hitler.

A naval agreement had been drawn up, for example, between Britain and Germany.

Sweden was exporting iron ore for use in the German arms industry and close trading links existed between Germany and the Soviet Union.

And which country was not making preparations for the Olympic Games to be held in Germany in 1936?

One year before this spectacle of Nazi propaganda Carl von Ossietzky was still lying on a plank bed in a concentration camp in Esterwegen (Emsland).

"Take heed all you political rabble-rousers and intellectual agitators that you are not caught, for your tongues will then be silenced."

Just one section of the concentration camp rules and regulations which give an idea of the mood of the day.

The concentration camps were the end of the road for numerous prominent intellectuals and politicians of the Weimar Republic, for example, mineworkers' leader Fritz Husemann and Altona's chief of police Otto Eggerstedt.

Both were "shot while attempting to escape".

It was impossible for the Nazis to simply murder Ossietzky, since the whole world was interested in the whereabouts of the man recommended for the Nobel peace prize.

One SS camp guard is reputed to have told Ossietzky that he would prefer to kill him, but "you are a talked-about man".

Ossietzky's friends abroad did everything they could to make sure that his name stayed in the headlines.

"Take the Nobel peace prize into the concentration camp!," they cried.

However, under the foreign policy pressure of the Nazi regime the Nobel Prize Committee did not dare comply with this demand.

Yet it was too late to choose another candidate and no Nobel peace prize was awarded in 1935.

The Gestapo tried to bombard the international press with "information" about Ossietzky's allegedly traitorous activities.

Furthermore, it claimed that Ossietzky was in good health, well-fed, and that his body showed a "reasonably powerful musculature and layer of subcutaneous fat".

The Swiss journalist and representative of the International Red Cross, Carl Jacob Burckhardt, however, described a different picture of the prisoner he visited in the Esterwegen concentration camp in October 1935.

In Burkhardt's report, which was read throughout the world, he referred to "a trembling and deathly pale person who seemed to be apathetic, one eye swollen, his teeth apparently knocked out, dragging a broken and poorly healed leg."

Together with the reports by former concentration camp prisoners of the atrocities committed there this report enabled the Nobel peace prize campaign for Carl von Ossietzky to reach its peak.

This was a clear embarrassment for the Nazi leaders, who were trying to consolidate worldwide recognition in the year of the Olympic Games.

They ordered that a medical examination be carried out, this time a proper one.

Its findings sounded more objective: general weakness, coughing to the point of vomiting, feelings of anxiety, lack of appetite, poor bowel movement, pale complexion, rattling noises above and below the left-hand tip of the lungs . . . otherwise no findings."

According to this examination the "sudden death" of the person examined was probable.

The Gestapo found itself in a dilemma: if Ossietzky died while imprisoned this would corroborate the "horror stories" about German concentration camps; if, on the other hand, Ossietzky were released he could be used as "chief witness" against the Nazi regime.

In May 1936, after three years in a concentration camp, the famous prisoner was transferred to a police hospital in Berlin.

The chief physician there diagnosed an incurable case of tuberculosis of the lungs at an advanced stage.

The conscience of the world responded to the challenge.

By 1 November, 1936, almost one thousand persons entitled to make a recommendation to the Nobel Prize Committee, including 125 Swiss parliamentarians, 86 members of the British House of Commons and 127 French deputies, had recommended Ossietzky.

In Norway a young émigré by the name of Willy Brandt was able to secure the backing of 69 members of the Storting.

This prompted Norway's foreign minister to resign from the Nobel Prize Committee to make it possible for the German candidate to receive the prize.

Up until that time the Norwegian foreign minister had objected to Ossietzky's nomination by citing his country's foreign policy interests.

Up until the very last momemt the Nazi regime tried to pressurise the Norwegian government into preventing the awarding of the prize to Ossietzky.

However, even the threat of sanctions failed to prevent Carl von Ossietzky from being awarded the 1935 Nobel peace prize.

"Ossietzky," Heinrich Mann wrote, "who was no longer able to write or talk, encountered in his chains the extreme stroke of luck that for an instance the world's conscience arose and the name it uttered was his."

During the year of the Olympic Games in Berlin the "other Germany" had achieved a major moral victory over Nazi Germany.



They imprisoned, hounded and embezzled Carl von Ossietzky.

(Photo: dpa)

The Nobel peace prize campaign for Carl von Ossietzky had become an international campaign against Nazi terror. He was not allowed to leave Germany to receive his award.

The Gestapo justified its decision by claiming that he was "incorrigible" and still unwilling after three years imprisonment to renounce his pacifist beliefs.

Pacifism, the Nazis maintained, was an open declaration of criticism of Nazi policies, criticism which they feared he might reiterate abroad.

The Nobel peace prize ceremony took place in the absence of the prize winner on 10 December, 1936.

On this day Ossietzky himself was lying unnoticed in a hospital and only his wife was with him.

A few days later he was at long last transferred to a special tuberculosis department, much to the dismay of the Gestapo which complained that it was more difficult to keep guard.

For the first time in his life Ossietzky had plenty of money, since the Nobel peace prize carried a prize of just under 100,000 Reichsmarks. But how could he get the money transferred to Germany?

Ossietzky turned to a lawyer, who embezzled almost the lot. After German émigrés claimed that the Gestapo had stolen the money the Nazis seized the opportunity to stage a show trial against the lawyer.

The Nazis wanted to show the world that Ossietzky was "in good health" and that he had been treated "fairly".

For the last time in his life Ossietzky appeared in court. He stood in the witness box, a broken man with deep-set eyes, a walking skeleton.

He didn't regard the money as his property, he said, and wanted to donate it to a charity and keep only a small amount for the treatment of his illness.

The judges sentenced the lawyer to two years imprisonment, but Ossietzky received no compensation.

This put an end to his hopes of treatment in a special lung sanatorium.

Guarded by police and cut off from the outside world Ossietzky wasted away for a further one-and-a-half years. Up until the very last day he unyieldingly fought against death.

A piece of cardboard with the words: "Hope shines through all our defeats as an eternal star", hung over his bed.

Elke Suhr

(Nordwest Zeitung, Oldenburg, 10 December 1986)

■ PEOPLE IN BUSINESS

New industrialist chief with a sharp eye for a market

RHEINISCHER MERKUR

Tyll Necker, 56, takes over from Hans Joachim Langmann, 61, at the year's end as head of the Confederation of German Industry (BDI).

Necker, from Bad Oldesloe, north of Hamburg, is in mechanical engineering. Langmann, from Darmstadt, south of Frankfurt, is in chemicals.

Necker has transformed a small firm set up by a refugee family in Schleswig-Holstein after the war into a prosperous medium-sized company with a payroll of over 1,000.

His is an outgoing personality, that of a successful salesman, whereas Langmann is more of an introverted executive of a large firm.

Both are members of the family that owns their respective firms by marriage. Necker is married to Karin Koch, whose father set up the Hako Works in Bad Oldesloe after the war, Langmann to a member of the E. Merck family, a name most Germans will readily associate with chemicals and pharmaceuticals.

In a pluralistic society the main aim of commercial and industrial associations must be to concentrate their respective views.

They also aim to liaise with politicians as qualified discussion partners. So the BDI chief's job is mainly political.

He must, as Langmann puts it, seek to ensure that industry holds uniform views on as many issues as possible.

He must also seek to reconcile the interests of different industries, different companies and different sizes of company.

For Langmann as the representative of a large firm paying special attention to the needs of smaller firms has been an important objective.

For small and medium-sized firms tax cuts are and remain the overriding issue.

Tyll Necker has no qualms about standing up for the interests of medium-sized companies. *His firm, which manufactures factory cleaning and gardening machinery, has an annual turnover of DM215m.*

Langmann in contrast as Merck chief executive runs a firm with over DM3bn in turnover.

Yet Necker agrees that continuity must be a keynote of a BDI director's term of office. As Langmann once put it, "in our business we don't leap from one peak to the next."

So the BDI chief's overriding consideration cannot be reform of company taxation. It must be economic policy in its entirety.

It would be an ill-advised Bonn government that dismissed a BDI director's opinion as of no great importance. The Federal Republic of Germany owes its international prestige to its economic status.

Necker's staff say economics is his only hobby. Only last year he was awarded an honorary PhD by Kiel University's economics and social science faculty.

In reality he read economics and philosophy in Göttingen, Munich and Hamburg and took an economics degree in 1955.

Born in Berlin, he lived in the Odenwald area, between Frankfurt and Heidelberg, in the post-war period and was for a while speaker of the students' parliament at school.

In reality he has other hobbies in addition to economics and his family of four children. "But I have far too little time for yachting and cycling," he sadly says.

He worked for the company he now manages and of which he is part-owner while still at university. He took over as works manager straight after his graduation and marriage.

In 1960 he was promoted to the management and became a partner in the firm.

Competitors say he could spot market opportunities for his products from an airliner in flight.

But at a fairly young age Necker, whose father was a Berlin journalist, realised it wasn't really enough to be merely a successful entrepreneur.

The family firm, an erstwhile pint-sized refugee set-up, now has 14 foreign subsidiaries in Europe, the United States, Canada, Australia and Japan.

Necker is well aware that this proud record of commercial expansion has only been possible in the framework of a free-market system to which he owes a debt of gratitude.

He sought to repay it as vice-president of the German Mechanical Engineering and Plant Construction Association (VDMA), Frankfurt, from 1977. He was VDMA president from 1980 to 1983.

In this capacity he was a presidium member of the Confederation of German Industry (BDI), of which he has been vice-president since 1981 and treasurer since 1982.

Economics his only hobby . . . Tyll Necker.

The BDI can fairly be said to have presented its future chief with a number of problems. He solved them all with flying colours.

Brunswick University of Technology honoured his commitment by awarding him the title of honorary senator.

His advice is increasingly sought elsewhere, on supervisory boards ranging from Schmalbach-Lubeca AG and the Finance Co. for *Holdings* in Developing Countries (DEG) to Howaldtswerke-Deutsche Werft AG.

Necker is sure to agree with Langmann's view that: "Market economics is more in real life than the mere description of a form of organisation.

Our country is not just free market orientated; we make a point of referring to the social free-market economy.

"This clearly shows that social policy is an inherent part of economic policy. In other words, the social factor substantial extends the free-market system."

Burkhart Salchow

(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, Bonn, 28 November 1986)



Employers' spokesman shows a touch of the unconventional



Man of plain words . . . Klaus Murmann. (Photos: Sven Simon)

If no-one moves nothing will get done, Klaus Murmann is fond of saying. Staff at the Cologne head office of the Confederation of German Employers' Associations (BDA) seem sure to find out what he means in the weeks ahead.

He takes over in the New Year from Otto Esser as BDA chief. Esser is a quiet man who likes to work behind the scenes. Murmann is a man of plain words who has no qualms about clashing with either fellow-employers or staff, be they his own employees or representatives of Germany's Düsseldorf-based Trades Union Confederation (DGB).

There can be few controversial social and welfare policy issues Murmann has not voiced views on in recent years.

As head of the Schleswig-Holstein Employers' Association he disagreed in the mid-1970s with fellow-employers' opposition to the Bonn coalition's plans for management participation and industrial democracy.

Much to the their annoyance he said companies could live comfortably with what the government had in mind.

He recently upset the trade unions too by calling for a more flexible approach in wage talks and specifically saying that working on Saturday must no longer be regarded as taboo.

It surely won't be long before he voices unconventional views on unemployment and how to cope with it too. But his qualities include the ability both to clarify viewpoints and to seek a sensible compromise.

Not for nothing did Dortmund-born

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■ TECHNOLOGY

Exhibition shows Berlin as an innovation pace-setter



Several events emphasising West Berlin's growing importance as a centre of technology took place on one day last month.

- The first phase of a Nixdorf computer plant was completed.
- The foundation stone for a DM40m high-tech factory was laid.
- A Production Engineering Centre was opened. It links the Institute for Machine Tool and Production Engineering and the Frauhof Institute for Production Engineering and Construction Technology.
- The BIG (an acronym for Berliner Innovations- und Gründerzentrum) exhibition opened; and
- The Berlin Innovation Prize was awarded.

BIG has developed into a new technology fair of international interest. It also features a conference on production technology and a management forum.

"If we had more days like this then we would not need to talk about the economic structure of Berlin any more," said Wolfgang Watter, an official in the economic affairs department of Berlin Senate.

The economic climate has got better, along with the employment statistics, the figures for immigration, industrial production, investment and other pointers indicating a trend towards improvement.

Figures from Nixdorf show how decisive a good climate is; the computer giant has increased its labour force in Berlin from 2,000 to 2,500 and plans to expand to 6,000.

Norbert Schlimm, one of the most successful company founders under the umbrella of BIG said: "I was there when Heinz Nixdorf first met Economic Affairs Senator Elmar Pieroth at BIG. Nixdorf said that things were happening in Berlin. It reminded him of his time in Essen, adding that he would build a new factory in Berlin.

"The situation in Berlin for new technology is splendid, but the opportunities have still not been exploited fully."

He added: "Berlin has a transport system that costs roughly DM700 million annually in lost subsidies. In 1986 subsidies totalled DM685 million. The innovation fund began with seven million marks, credits that had to be repaid. So long as a situation such as that prevails the city cannot claim to be working for future innovations. Nevertheless the economic climate is very good."

How can all these positive developments be reconciled to an undertow of unease, noticeable recently, when BIG is being discussed?

BIG links with the Technical University have been criticised. There have been mutterings about companies under the BIG umbrella going bankrupt and about the inability of many company founders to make the leap from being new products developers, done with state aid, to being entrepreneurs who have to sell the products they have developed.

BIG is just an umbrella organisation and not the sole driving force for innovation in Berlin.

At present there are 27 firms working in BIG employing 220. The Economics University has recorded the establishment of 125 new companies, geared to technology, between 1980 and 1985.

In addition many major and medium-sized companies have, over the past few years, expanded not only the basis of their products but have modernised their production engineering.Berlin is becoming a production centre for medical and laser technology. After a few difficult years engineering has again caught up with international developments. Office and data processing technology has done very well. Since 1980 production has been increased fivefold.

The textiles industry is constucting half a dozen new, sophisticated factories in Berlin.

Hans Georg Otto of Wirtschaftsförderung Berlin GmbH said: "This is a consequence of the amendment to Berlin's promotion legislation. The textiles industry has been fully mechanised. Jobs in the industry are the most expensive in industry as a whole. Thanks to the preferential treatment that has been conceded to Berlin the city can now compete with Hong Kong."

He continued: "And once companies are here they become more adventurous. Companies, that we have aided to move to Berlin, invest more on average and create more jobs than they had originally intended to do."

The new companies in BIG have on average got through two to two and a half years. So far only one company has given up. Five companies have moved out, because they wanted to expand.

One of these was the robot manufacturer Norbert Schlimm with his Ro-Ber Industrieroboten GmbH that now operates from the Technologie- und Innovationspark (TIP).

Experts with some experience of the flop quota in American industrial centres are surprised and comment that something must be wrong.

The difference between what happens in America and here is that new technology companies in Berlin are coddled, and not only in Berlin.

They are given subsidies to set themselves up, funds for new technology, advances from the Research and Technology Ministry, investment allowances and so on. In the starting-up phase it is hardly possible for anything to go wrong.

Speaking of his own experience Norbert Schlimm said: "There is enough financing for two years. Only then does a firm get to know if its products are marketable or not, whether enough orders are coming in."

The time is fast approaching when the BIG firms will have to prove their abilities and stand on their own two feet without financial aid. And they will soon have to begin paying back loans. That's why they need another BIG.

The original BIG concept was quite simple. There was space to lease at rents that covered costs in an old AEG building, listed for conservation. Office equipment, telephone switch board, photo-copiers and so on were communal.

Putting certain insitutes from the Technical University under the same roof gave the benefit of contacts with scientists and made it easier to solve technical problems in development projects.

But for some time now the BIG firms have had other needs and interests. Over the past few months they have worked together to develop a new concept, that is now ripe for decision.

The privatisation of BIG and cutting the links with the Technical University are only the first moves and not the most important.

Innovationszentrum Berlin Management GmbH has been established to manage BIG and the Technologie- und Innovationspark (TIP) during the transition period. It will be subordinate to the Wirtschaftsförderung Gesellschaft, the Berlin organisation to promote economic development.

Next year BIG/TIP will be handed over to a foundation of general benefit to the community, set up by industrial companies, banks and service industries. Among those who will participate are Volkswagen, Daimler Benz, Siemens and the Deutsche Bank.

The idea for the privatisation of BIG comes from a report produced by Arthur D. Little, management consultants.

This report suggested that the BIG and TIP umbrella organisation should be changed from a pure servicing operation to a professional marketing organisation whose technology potential would be developed into an "efficient network," so that by a better exploitation of market and technological opportunities greater growth would be achieved.

The report also suggested that BIG should be converted into a technology and innovation centre operated by professionals along commercial lines.

"The demands of the BIG companies have changed," Norbert Schlimm said. For instance, the old BIG was not in the position to aid companies that encountered financial difficulties. That will be possible in future, although this does not mean that inviable firms will be rescued at any price.

Schlimm added:" The new BIG will be able to deal professionally with marketing, financing, matters concerning venture capital, cooperation and personnel. People will be brought in who have to make a success of things.

Individual BIG companies, for instance, cannot have a broad view of the whole venture capital situation. In the future that will have this, although they will not get this view directly but through a professional, who knows the way venture capital investors think, and who understands the fine print of contracts."

He continued: "We all think it will be fantastic, a model for other centres similar to BIG."

The participation of major companies and banks in the umbrella organisation was at first disputed, but it is hoped that in fact it will have a positive influence on the new companies within BIG.

Many young people who set up a company concentrate in the opening phases on a single product, their original idea.

When this has been exploited to the full they often do not have a new idea to follow on. Others need a strong partner in the market.

Unlike in America there are too few spin-off companies in the Federal Republic, companies set up by one-time employees in a major company, who are supported with ideas and in practical

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RESEARCH

Asterix IV set to fuse nuclei by laser blast

The new building of the Max Planck Quantum Optics Institute was opened in Garching, near Munich, with a display of laser "fireworks."

The institute, set up in 1981, was based on a plasma physics project group from which a laser research unit split off in the mid-1970s.

Its aim is to make full use of the unique new opportunities lasers provide in physics, chemistry and environmental protection and to carry out research on the inter-relationship between light and matter.

The laser bay, or operations room of Asterix IV, is the nerve centre of the new building. Asterix IV, once it is fully operational at the end of next year, will be the world's most powerful iodine laser, with a peak performance of five billion kilowatts.

Six light amplifiers are arranged round its mirror-reflected 100-metre zig-zag course.

Asterix IV, like its less powerful predecessors, is to be used for nuclear fusion experiments. It is to bombard pellets of deuterium and tritium heavy water isotopes to compress and heat them to temperatures of up to 100 million degrees centigrade.

These are the temperatures needed to make the atomic nuclei defy their powers of repulsion and fuse.

Experience so far indicates that direct bombardment is not the ideal method. So Garching research scientists are trying another approach. They plan to bed fuel pellets in a hollow metal sphere, with apertures through which laser light can penetrate.

The laser beam triggers uniform radiation inside the sphere that helps to compress the fuel particles.

Yet even Asterix IV will not be powerful enough to reach the thermonuclear fusion take-off point, the stage at which the energy output generated by the fusion of hydrogen atoms into helium is greater than the energy input via laser beams.

A laser 100 times more powerful than Asterix IV would be needed to trigger this chain reaction.

The new gravitational wave detector designed and built in Garching will also need a long laser beam. A team led by astrophysicist Gerd Leuch has designed an interferometer with arms three kilometres long to prove the existence of waves that form part of Einstein's theory of relativity but whose existence has yet to be proved.

Within these twin arms lasers will be beamed to and fro 30 times by electronically stabilised mirrors, covering a distance of 90km.

Scientists hope to achieve the extreme sensitivity they need to measure the minute differences in distance between two points in space that in theory must be triggered by gravitational waves.

Waves of sufficient intensity cannot be generated on Earth; they can at best reach us from outer space, where they are emitted by stars as they collapse.

The antenna needed to register this space radiation costs between DM50m and DM70m. A grant application has been made to the Federal Research Ministry.

Another device the new institute would dearly like to call its own is a free electron laser (FEL) for soft X-ray frequencies.

It consists of a ray of highly accelerated high-energy electrons running through a periodic magnetic structure — a group of powerful permanent magnets arranged side by side with alternating north and south poles.

The electrons are oscillated and emit radiation that can be intensified to a laser effect if it is sent to and fro between mirrors. The advantage of this system is that the laser beam is not generated by fixed electrons in a solid-state body or a gas but by electrons that are free agents.

The laser wavelength is thus determined not by energy distances in the solid-state body. It can be changed by varying the electron acceleration energy up to and including X-ray frequencies.

The FEL concept, devised at the Max Planck Quantum Optics Institute by a group headed by Professor Herbert Walther, envisages an alternating electromagnetic field rather than a static magnetic field to trigger oscillation.

An infra-red laser is to be beamed at the electrons. Its field is to make them oscillate. Soft X-rays ought to be generated in this way, calculations indicate. Complex, costly electron accelerators should not be needed.

This coherent X-ray light might then be used to portray crystal lattices or medical objects three-dimensionally by means of holograms.

High-resolution electron microscopes can penetrate much further into the microcosm than X-rays can. The screen tunnel microscope devised by Binnig and Rohrer, this year's Nobel physics laureates, is the latest development in this field.

It can be used to identify individual atoms on the surface of a solid-state body, but physicists cannot yet work out exactly what kind of an atom it is.

This point annoyed the Garching laser experts, who built a screen tunnel microscope of their own as soon as the details were published.

Physicists L. Arnold and W. Krieger added an infra-red laser to make the surface atoms under investigation oscillate. The oscillation spectrum emitted can then be studied to identify specific atoms and molecules.

Surface diagnosis has thus gained an entirely new dimension, and it is most important in studying processes in connection with catalysts, for instance.

This example shows quantum optics to be more than basic research in the abstract. It definitely has practical applications.

The laser-based ozone measuring device jointly designed by Garching and Munich University scientists is a striking example. It used to take readings on the Zugspitze in the Bavarian Alps and is now en route to the Antarctic.

It consists of a high-energy laser that shoots up to 100 lightning flashes at right angles into the sky, where the light is spread by gas and particles.

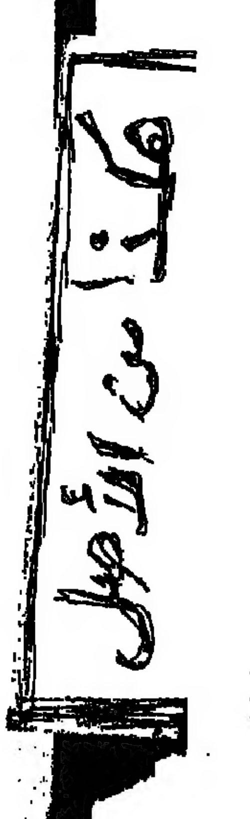
The returning echo can be read to measure ozone distribution in altitudes extending from 50km to 100km.

No long-term changes in the ozone layer have been noted from the Zugspitze in recent years, but the Antarctic has an annual "ozone hole" that was particularly large this year and lasted longer than usual.

The Munich device is now to measure it to high altitudes. The Antarctic "ozone hole" could be of vital importance, letting into the Earth's atmosphere dangerous high-energy ultra-violet radiation that ozone otherwise keeps at bay.

Michael Globig

(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, Bonn, 21 November 1986)



Reduced formaldehyde emission claim for new building material

Brunswick research scientists have developed a versatile new wood-and-plaster composition claimed to cost less than chipboard and to be less of a health hazard.

It is claimed to have got over the problem of formaldehyde emissions. Formaldehyde is a chemical suspected of causing cancer.

Builders were initially sceptical about the news from the Fraunhofer Wood Research Institute in Brunswick.

The technique used to combine wood and plaster seemed at first glance to make nonsense of established materials know-how.

The new composition board now is likely to be widely used in making fitted furniture, in interior decorating and in housebuilding.

It is less of an environmental hazard than conventional composition board in more ways than one and costs less to make.

The experts' initial scepticism has since been more than matched by the persistence of leading German plasterboard manufacturers in challenging the rights applied for by the Brunswick research institute.

The legal wrangle over the German patent applied for back in 1979 has been in progress for six years. A final ruling by the Federal Patent Court is expected next year.

The European patent, applied for in 1983, has also been contested. The US patent, applied for in 1982, is in contrast fully valid and in force.

Much is at stake. The German chipboard industry, manufacturing of which is a mainstay of the furniture, interior decorating and building trades, has an annual turnover of roughly DM2.5bn.

Eighty per cent of its output emits formaldehyde, a gas suspected of causing cancer. Most chipboard emits for-



maldehyde, more or less depending on price and quality.

The chemical industry has developed bonding agents that no longer emit formaldehyde, but chipboard made with them costs more and so accounts for only a limited share of the market.

The fire risk is another international problem, especially in fitting out large buildings such as office blocks and hotels.

Chipboard burns like wood and is classified in the Federal Republic of Germany as "normally flammable." Buildings gutted all over the world, hotel fires with a heavy death toll, for instance, are a regular reminder of the need for materials that burn less easily.

The new material, consisting of wood and plaster in roughly equal proportions, deals inexpensively with both the formaldehyde and the fire hazard.

It doesn't use artificial resin as a bonding agent and so emits no formaldehyde. And its plaster makes it fire-resistant.

It looks and feels like wood. It can be sawn, veneered, wallpapered and drilled holes into as easily as conventional chipboard can. It can be used in furniture manufacture too.

What so perplexed the experts initially was that the Brunswick research scientists seemed to have set aside the builder's axiom that plaster can only be processed when mixed with water to form a flowable mass.

Professor Gert Kossatz, head of the Brunswick Fraunhofer Institute, found porous materials such as expanded clay, perlite or wood to be less able to retain stored water than plaster was to attract it.

The result was a new principle for use in manufacturing composition board. Dry, fine-grained plaster when mixed with damp wood fibre will absorb from the wood just enough water to make a firm bond between them.

The initial result is granules of wood and plaster that can be pressed without difficulty into boards using suitable equipment.

What is more, the process uses roughly 60 per cent less energy than conventional techniques of combining woodchip and plaster.

The new material seems poised for triumphant worldwide progress. Bison, a medium-sized mechanical engineering firm in Springe, Westphalia, markets production lines under licence.

Saastamoinen, a Finnish building materials firm, was first to develop the Brunswick invention commercially. Its first factory has an annual capacity of 35,000 cubic metres.

A second, larger factory is due to open next year in Norway, about 100km south of the Arctic circle. Keen interest has also been shown by firms in Germany, the United States, Japan and New Zealand.

In the Soviet Union production of the new material has been incorporated in the current five-year plan. The Brunswick research institute even has a cooperation agreement with the Chinese timber industry research institute.

The Brunswick project has forged a successful link between theory and practice. Professor Kossatz and his staff have been awarded the DM30,000 technology transfer prize for 1986 by Bonn Research Minister Heinz Riesenhuber.

His Ministry can claim a little of the glory, having awarded the Brunswick institute research grants for the past four years.

Three international research projects are in progress, financed by Bonn and the Finnish, New Zealand and Chinese governments respectively, all aimed at developing industrial uses for the new material.

A fourth government-backed project is concerned with an environmental problem that will grow increasingly urgent for the Federal Republic from 1990.

By 1990 desulphurising units at German coal-fired power stations will be producing 2.5 million tonnes a year of fine-grained plaster.

This by-product is unsuitable for conventional use by plasterers and the plaster industry but it could be used without difficulty to manufacture the new composition board.

If 10 per cent of conventional chipboard at the present level of output were replaced by wood-and-plaster board, about half a million tonnes of power station plaster could be put to use.

So it is hardly surprising that German power utilities have shown keen interest in the new product too.

Franz Frisch

(Die Zeit, Hamburg, 28 November 1986)

THE ENVIRONMENT

An industry in disgrace: door slams on failed voluntary alarm system

Industrial plants now have to notify a much wider range of accidents. This follows a series of chemicals spillages beginning with the Sandoz disaster in Switzerland in which chemicals poisoned the river Rhine.

There has been such a string of accidents from chemicals plants since that most people doubt that they could be coincidental.

Voluntary notification was begun in 1980. Not surprisingly, not many accidents have been reported.

Immediately after Sandoz, Bonn Environment Minister Walter Wallmann appealed to German chemicals makers to toughen up their voluntary arrangements.

He was greeted with such a number of spillages that:

- He came to doubt that they were unintentional;
- Some coalition MPs with vivid imaginations thought they were acts of sabotage designed to benefit the Greens in the general election next month; and
- Others thought terrorists might be involved.

Herr Wallmann has not been misled by this speculation, with its general election connotations.

His eight-point programme is aimed at defusing the concentration of chemicals plant along the Rhine, which has long been realised to be a time-bomb.

The authorities must now be notified

Süddeutsche Zeitung

of accidents involving a much wider range of substances, and notification is mandatory for all firms, large and small.

The accident commission will no longer include representatives of the chemical or plant construction industries.

Public opinion was amazed to learn, in connection with the scandalous series of accidents, that hitherto it has been largely for companies themselves to decide whether an accident is serious enough to warrant notifying the authorities and warning the public.

As a rule offenders felt accidents were not so serious as to warrant this course of action, which explains why only 14 accidents have been reported since 1980 when the procedure was introduced.

Since the Sandoz accident in Basle there have been nearly as many accident reports in a month, notification no longer being at the offender's discretion.

The Sandoz accident alarmed the authorities and prompted them not to keep measurements under lock and key after notifying the accident commission but to warn the public and the Environment Ministries.

That is why we have learnt since Sandoz what was previously an established but tacit practice. Accidents constantly happened and more toxic chemicals found their way into the Rhine and other rivers than was permitted. Yet nothing was done about it.

German firms may be given permission to pump small and allegedly harmless quantities of countless substances into their effluent, but the regulations make no provision for less toxic but potentially harmful substances such as benzole, vinyl chloride, mercury compounds and the pesticide Atrazin.

So despite billions invested in sewage treatment by industry and local authorities in the past 20 years the Rhine remains an open sewer into which more and more toxic substances have been pumped.

The occasional appearance of a salmon along the middle reaches of the river has always been hailed with pleasure, but one salmon doesn't signify a fundamental improvement in the Rhine's condition.

It remains a refuse disposal facility for the affluent society. One is reminded of the apocryphal query by a Bonn civil servant in the early days of post-war economic recovery: "Where is the regulation specifying that fish have to live in the Rhine?"

Rivers have always been both sources of drinking water and open drains. As they always flow in one direction those who live upstream have the advantage when it comes to quality of water while those who live downstream have the edge when it comes to quantity of water, such as for shipping or industry.

These clashes of interest need to be reconciled. On a national scale they are reconciled. But the situation is more difficult when a river is an international waterway.

Chloride from French potash mines on the Rhine is a constant source of annoyance for Dutch market gardeners and others downstream.

The Sandoz fire caused tremendous but hopefully only temporary damage. The company has promised compensation and the Swiss President, Herr Egli, has reminded Sandoz of this undertaking.

Sandoz can be sued for damages in the civil court. Foreign nationals can sue the company in Swiss courts. So material damages claims can be settled.

But the river's eco-system, once a living stretch of nature, will now be dead or in serious imbalance for years. This natural and cultural loss cannot be made good in cash.

Politicians and industrialists are even more worried at the blow to public confidence in the chemical industry, a gilt-edged money-spinner in both Switzerland and the Federal Republic of Germany.

It would be far from surprising if a number of developing countries that have so far more or less unsuspectingly imported highly toxic pesticides containing substances banned in their countries of origin were to grow more suspicious on learning about pollution of the Rhine.

The call by the Greens in the Bundestag debate for "gentle chemistry" ought not to be dismissed as nonsense. Chemistry inevitably involves violence. Substances cannot always be readily combined to make up the compounds required.

But limits ought to be set for artificially triggered aggressive products even if chemicals may not always cause concentrated, catastrophic damage as in Seveso, Bhopal or Basle.

Their constant expansion in fields and warehouses, in households and in the seven seas is bad in itself and a creeping catastrophe.

A wide range of measures has been proposed and it would no doubt be splendid if any or all of them were to be put into practice.

They include comprehensive accident regulations, an improved warning system, an ecological police force, centralisation of water protection responsibilities, clearer liability and compensation, stricter inspection, tougher safety regulations for chemical plant, remote-controlled monitoring of dangerous production facilities, special public prosecutors, international safety standards such as the European Community's Seveso guideline and other useful innovations and political consequences to be reached from the Rhine disaster.

But we need even more to learn our lesson as contemporaries of a chemical industry that has been let loose without bounds.

Countless desirable, useful and even vitally important chemical products are manufactured in explosive reactors via highly toxic intermediate stages.

This is the proverbial vestigial risk, and no matter how much progress is made in safety engineering, it will partly depend on the demand for products.

Sudden and creeping catastrophes start not only with slapdash technicians and profit-motivated executives but also with thoughtless consumers.

Sandoz are worried their pharmaceutical products might be boycotted and have circularised doctors in a bid to boost confidence and rally support.

The chemical industry as a whole could do worse, if it wants to boost confidence and rally support, than to knuckle under to new regulations proposed to protect man and his environment and not, as in the past, fight them tooth and nail.

Christian Schütze

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 6 December 1986)

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ways by their former employers. The participation of major companies in BIG could perhaps encourage this.

But the new BIG concept will not prevent bankruptcies. It is natural that one or two who make the leap will set their hopes on a wrong product, not do their sums properly or simply lack business acumen. That will not harm BIG or the employees of the successful firms.

Schlimm said: "If it suited me I'd go to America. There I would be a man much in demand, because I have tried something and gained some experience that can be used."

He can justly say that because his robot company has been successful and is already making profits.

If the hopes that have been placed in the "new" BIG are realised then it will be more successful than the old concept, that was good for public relations but it quickly became redundant. It takes time for the indirect advantages of such a new technology centre to emerge. Wolfgang Watter said: "BIG has a knock-on effect. The firms encourage one another. What can be achieved there to provide jobs should not be overestimated nor underestimated."

Joachim Nowrocki

(Die Zeit, Hamburg, 5 December [...]

FILMS

Concealed conflicts and love in icy wastelands

Frankfurter Allgemeine

Klaus Mann's novel, *Flucht in den Norden*, has been filmed by a Finnish director living in West Germany, Ingemo Engström.

It is a love story set in northern Europe. For days on end a man and a woman make their way to the Polar Sea through the immense wastes of northern Finland.

The terrain gets more and more barren. The last traces of civilisation disappear. Man becomes rare, nature all-powerful. Lakes, woods, moss-covered hills make up the naked, cold landscape.

The two stop at a small village, dawdle through the market. The man is Finnish-Swedish.

The woman is German and says, in a monologue: "I've been put entirely off course in this love." She sighs and leans against her lover, "I'm burdened by this love. I have to lose myself to make room for it."

Reflections such as these are scattered through Frau Engström's film, phrases like footnotes to an interior drama, that have nothing to do with what appears on the screen, what is said and done.

Ingemo Engström confirms the common prejudice that films made from books are usually a sequence of scenes that lack tension, with deadly serious actors saying their lines, full of significance, without a glimmer of facial expression.

The film is full of scenes of evening twilight, lapping waves and forest sounds, accompanied by reflective dialogue taken from Mann's book, but the conflicts they are supposed to describe remain concealed.

Indeed we hear the film's message solely because we cannot see it. This results in a lack of credibility.

Klaus Mann's *Flucht in den Norden* was written in exile in 1934. It is the first, in fact, of those books in what is known as exile literature.

Joanna, a German communist, played by Katharina Thalbach, is fleeing to Finland in the first days of the Third Reich to recuperate at the manor of her aristocratic friend, Karin, played by Lena Olin.

The filming in which Engström tries to capture the distress of this flight, could well be the introduction to an outside broadcast from a port. There is a freighter putting out to sea, a cabin, a woman on deck and Helsinki filmed in mellow light.

There is no indication of the sense of threat, of feelings of oppression, nothing about escaping from death.

This lack of pace, that should give an opportunity for relections on life in general, involuntarily has, in fact, a comic effect. It is repeated in the end in every scene in which Joanna, who has left love, passion and sorrow behind her in the North, in order to get back to the battleground of Europe in a cutter.

Once again the frames show idyllic seascapes, which have little meaning in a film about the destiny of an emigrant.

The panoramas and the landscape take off on their own. They dazzle with their beauty when they should be telling a story of grief, of agitation and inner privation.

The film is drunk with its own sleek surface appearance. In her notes on the film Ingemo Engström says that the love-story of Joanna and her Finnish lover Regnar recalls the romantic ideal of love, a union of pleasure and death. *But the film is only* an awkward variation of this. The viewer is drowned in an alternating bath of impulses and dreams.

When Joanna gets to know her lover, Ragnar, (played by Jukka-Pekka Palo), at her friend's manor he is playing with a dog.

He says that she must take a closer look at his books. Next morning she wakes up with a copy of Rimbaud's poems on her pillow.

In the afternoon, on a boat trip, the gramophone plays "Parlez-moi d'amour," and in the evening they look at colour slides from China together.

There is a lot of culture hitched to this tale of "amour fou". As in many films-of-the-book, veneered with wide literary quotes, the quotations do not get the film moving much.

The couple's mundane life is more prosaic. During the film they take considerable delight in each other in front of the camera, so that no one forgets that even in flight love has to be nurtured.

There is a banality here in linking up desire and death. When the talk turns to Joanna's crisis as a resistance fighter, when they talk about the futility of fighting the sequel is always a bed scene.

The flight of the two to the Polar Sea is an obstacle race from one hotel bedroom to the next.

In between all these there are empty intervals, landscape, Finnish villages and lines from the scipt which Katherina Thalbach absent-mindedly declaims.

The camera lingers over the facades of the houses in the Finnish villages as if they were showpieces in a travelogue.

Flucht in den Norden, despite what the author said, is an unpolitical book. Europe's fate and communist Joanna's inner torment are just a backdrop, de-

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East meets West on the Elbe, April 1945. But for how long? From *An American Dreamer*.

(Photo: CON Filmverleih)

Ex-GI Joe shows just what the little man can do

When American and Soviet troops met in April 1945 at Torgau, near Leipzig in what is today East Germany, lots of promises were made about making sure there would be peace from now on. One of those GIs was Joe Polowsky. He spent the rest of his life trying to fulfil those heady immediate post-war hopes. The documentary film, *An American Dreamer*, directed by Wolfgang Pfeiffer, tells the story of Joe Polowsky.

Two of the main protagonists are shown fishing. The former lieutenant-colonel in the Red Army answers the question that Yevgeny Yevtushenko explained in a famous poem: "Do you mean the Russians want war?"

Just as a small fish takes his bait a US war veteran recalls the royal treatment he was given during a visit to Moscow, "I shall never experience anything like it again," he said.

The Russian and the American swore that what they went through in the Second World War would never happen again, when they shook hands on 25 April 1945 at Torgau.

The date is historic for the Russian and Allied armies met on the Elbe then for the first time. Hitler had been defeated.

This experience coloured the rest of Joe Polowsky's life, the hero of the film who is portrayed in a very unheroic manner.

He took to heart the vow that there should never be another war and could not come to terms with the idea that a one-time ally could become an enemy.

At the height of the Cold War he demonstrated for peace and understanding between the Russians and the Americans. For Senator McCarthy he dreamed very un-American dreams.

In 1955 Joe, a taxi-driver in Chicago went to Moscow with nine other veterans from Torgau, the first Americans in the Soviet Union at the time.

They raised the money for the trip from an appearance in a television show.

Wolfgang Pfeiffer's film deals with the memories of the participants on both sides when they meet for a second time under very different political situation. There are moments of the pure comic in this film as well as moments of pure poetry.

West Berliner Pfeiffer's idea originates from a news report that an American, who was in Torgau in 1945 when the Americans first met the Russians, had been buried there in 1983.

When Joe Polowsky learned that he was dying of cancer he made this last request, which nearly came to nothing because of a lack of cash.

Without comment Pfeifer has produced a portrait of his Don Quixote, caught up in the area of conflict between the banalities of daily life and world politics. He interviewed his son, friends and people whom he met in Moscow and America.

The portrait shows that the little man can successfully get mixed up in great events by being persistent.

He also shows how easily ordinary Russians and Americans can get to understand each other, despite the quarrels of the Great.

They contributed considerably to the film that was much applauded at the Leipzig documentary and short-film festival and given an award.

It has won a Golden Dove and the prize of the international film club federation and of the film critics association, FIPRESCI.

Heinz Kersten

(Der Tagesspiegel, Berlin, 2 December 1986)

Employers' spokesman

Continued from page 6

Murmann, 54, want to become a diplomat. He certainly had the qualifications. He read law in Bonn, at Harvard and at the Sorbonne, taking his PhD in Kiel.

For roughly a decade he was the youngest Christian Democratic councillor in Kiel. He learnt the ropes of industrial management in the family firm, his initial ambition being merely to gain a clearer idea of the practical side of running a company.

But he developed such a keen interest in technology and management that he came to welcome the opportunity of setting up a company of his own.

He worked hard to persuade Sundstrand, the US manufacturer, to grant him the licence to manufacture their gearboxes and transmission units in Germany.

Murmann is now majority shareholder in Sauer Getriebe AG, Neumünster, a leading European manufacturer of hydrostatic gear units. His company has a payroll of roughly 1,200 and annual turnover of roughly DM250m.

Next year the international activities of Sundstrand and Sauer are to join forces in a Neumünster-based company with Murmann as chief executive.

His work as BDA chief is unlikely to transform him into a typical official. He enjoys work of this kind but his Neumünster firm seems sure to remain the cornerstone of his career and the crux of his professional interest.

Murmann looks younger than his age but it is doubtful whether even he will be able to spend as much time as in the past with his family and on his hobbies.

Jan Brech

(Die Welt, Bonn, 11 December 1986)

ARCHITECTURE

Memorial to a Prussian aesthete gets a new lease of life

Hannoversche Allgemeine

The Gropius Building in Berlin, built towards the end of the last century by a great-uncle of Walter Gropius (1883—1969), founder of the Bauhaus movement, has been refurbished.

The building's scale is much the same as the Reichstag or Berlin's Cathedral.

The difference between these monumental buildings in the Wilhelmine style and the Gropius Building is that the latter bears the influence of Prussian architect Karl Friedrich Schinkel

It is reminiscent of a magnificent villa from Pompeii, and stands close to the Berlin Wall.

It has earned international fame for housing such famous exhibitions as "Prussia, an attempt to find a balance," "The horses of San Marco," and "The treasures of the Forbidden City."

The Jewish department of the Berlin Museum is now housed in the second storey in the building. The department can now display about 70 per cent of its collection along with items on loan. The accent is on the contribution German—Jewish cultural traditions made to Berlin.

The Jewish department is not regarded as the nucleus of an independent Jewish museum but as a part of the Berlin Museum. The department aims at documenting the relationship of Jews to the city.

During a tour of the museum cultural affairs senator Volker Hassemer said: "Without Jews Berlin, as it is today, would be unthinkable."

The display in the Gropius Building makes clear the Jewish contribution to the city's history. The first evidence of Jews living in Berlin comes from the Spandau Judenkewer, or cemetery.

There are gravestones from this cemetery dating from the 13th century that were later used to build the Citadel.

Pictures and items are on show that come from Jewish religious life, a wedding canopy, thora curtains and robes, prayer books, Sabbath plates, kiddush cups and Hannukah candelabra.

There are also pictures, portraits of people important in Jewish society, people who played a role in the artistic, scientific, economic and social history of the city, names such as Liebermann, Rathenau and Einstein.

The pictures and drawings in the last room of the exhibition are an artistic protest against war and the rule of violence.

Works from Ernst Oppler (1867—1929) and Isai Kulvianski (1892—1972) recall the East European artistic generation of the 1920s, who contributed to Berlin's cultural life and were part of the artistic world that disappeared in 1933.

A spiral staircase leads to a gallery where documents, books and pictures are on display, many belonging to non-Jewish families, that survived the period of Nazi persecution.

From a window in this gallery the foundations of Gestapo headquarters in Berlin can be seen and what remains of the torture chambers, right close to the Gropius Building.

The Berlin Gallery is now housed on the first floor, after being kept temporarily at Bahnhof Zoo.

This collection includes impressive examples of the work of Berlin artists of the 19th and 20th centuries. These include pictures by Liebermann, Leistkow and Lovis Corinth for the expressionists, Dada artists, constructivists from the 20th century, realists from the "critical realism" movement up to the "young wild ones and their fathers."

Of particular interest is the Otto Dix picture, recently purchased in London for DM2.5 million, dating from 1925. It is a portrait of Baltic poet Iwan von Lücken, a star of the Berlin artistic world of the period.

The new "Gallery of the Romantics" was recently opened in the Knobelsdorff Wing Appartments of Berlin's Charlottenburg Castle. The pictures on display here radiate a sense of peace and harmony.

Man is shown at one with nature, a part of nature, a minute figure in the infinity of the universe.

Nowhere else in the world are so many works by romantic artists on display as in this Gallery, located opposite the Eygptian Museum where the Nefertiti bust is kept. The Gallery will undoubtedly become a major attraction in Berlin.

The opportunity to bring together the works of the romantic painters came when the Fine Arts Museum left the Castle for a new building in the Tiergarten Cultural Forum.

The Prussian Foundation, that owns most of the works of the romantics, and the Berlin Senate that also owned several important works of this movement, agreed to set up the Gallery. It includes 147 paintings.

The major attraction of the collection is the 23 paintings by the German master romantic painter Caspar David Friedrich (1774-1840).

The most important milestones in his artistic development are on display in two rooms, from his masterpiece *Mönch am Meer* to his *Greifswalder Hafen*, his *Eichbaum im Schnee* and *Wrack am Mondschein*.

In his *Mönch am Meer* (Monk by the seaside), he uncompromisingly broke with traditional landscape painting and banished from his canvases the limitlessness of sea and sky.

His *Greifswalder Hafen* (Griefswald Harbour) is painted with dream-like light showing the setting sun.

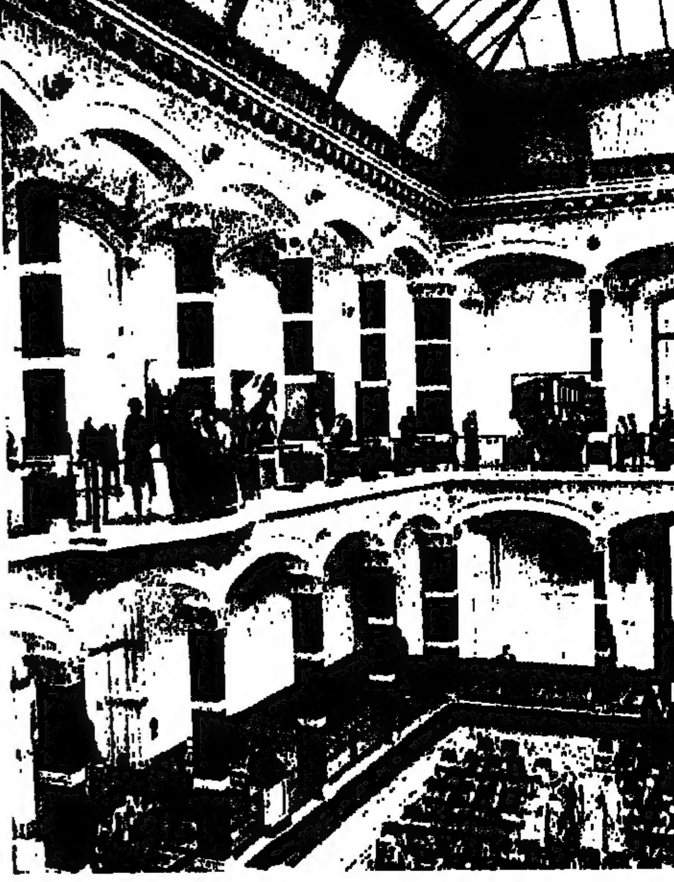
The second highpoint of the collection is the 15 paintings by Karl Friedrich Schinkel. He was a Prussian architect and also a painter of considerable talent.

Many of his paintings indicate his admiration for ancient architecture as well as the high esteem he had for Gothic art.

Even in his art there is the echo of that feeling, so often encountered in German romantic art, that man's life is a flight that ends in the hereafter. This element is most obvious in Friedrich's *Speeufer bei Stralau*.

Before the rooms devoted to Friedrich and Schinkel the visitor is confronted with classical paintings. Works by J.A.Koch, Catel, Rottmann, Schicks and Philipp Otto Runge are on display, particularly Runge's masterpiece *Frau und Söhnchen*. About 1800 there was a break between artists and their traditional patrons, the royal courts, the nobility and the church. These pictures are evidence of this break. The artists have severed their links with society and taken on a naturalness of their own. They developed a middle-class art, no longer used as decoration for stately rooms, but pictures that had their guiding principle within themselves and tried to assert themselves against

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Restored Gropius building includes Jewish museum.

(Photo: Esch-Kenkel)

Exhibition throws some light on shades of furor teutonicus

An exhibition featuring architecture and design in Berlin from the turn of the century until 1933 is on show in New York.

The director of the small Cooper Hewitt Museum, Lisa Taylor, who is descended from German immigrants, decided on the exhibition to mark the 10th anniversary of the museum's move into the palatial residence of steel magnate Andrew Carnegie.

Berlin from 1900 to 1933. Architecture and Design, is being sponsored by Lufthansa, the Bonn Foreign Ministry and the Berlin Senate. It has been organised by the International Design Centre, Berlin.

The exhibition is timely: the 750th anniversary of Berlin is next year.

The exhibition must be a kind of declaration of war on the grandiose turn-of-the-century villa in which it is housed, featuring the slick art of the "new functionalism." It would have been hard to find a more suitable location for such an exhibition.

Art expert Tilmann Buddensieg has designed the exhibition, setting out to show the "extreme, polemical contrast" of this artistic movement against the "official taste of the period."

He means here the Wilhelmine style and the dawning artistic ideology of national socialism.

This exhibition in concrete New York gets across the atmosphere of manipulation Germany, defeated in the First World War and going through a period of deep political and economic depression, used to become a new "world master" in art.

The polemic used in the manipulation process against the Wilhelmine style was just as provocative against Victorianism as against the "colonial complex" of the Americans.

The same people who in 1902 exhibited harmless, plain furniture and glass in the posh Wertheim department store in Berlin, as a means of rebellion against the pompousness of plush, silks and satins, were soon to become enthusiastic about architecture in the Soviet Union and the United States and propagated a new notion of the "furor teutonicus."

This was a rejection of the ideas of history and art as they were understood in the traditional sense. America seized on the message from these "White Gods" eagerly, and experienced, in the building industry at least, a second colonisation.

The skyscrapers of the Mies van der Rohe and Gropius school of architecture in Manhattan bear witness still to the "dictatorship of the rectangle."

For the first time art products from trade and industry were saleable, and their marketability increased. For the first time design became classless, which was very seductive in America.

But Lisa Taylor did not want to let the exhibition rest at throwing light on Berlin's Bauhaus and factory design revolution. She wanted to throw some light on the darker side of German building.

She has selected expressionism and the "organic" building for inclusion — but she has excluded conservative reformers such as Tessenow, Schmidthenner and Schultze-Naumberg.

Bruno Taut wrote on one of his folios: "Mother Earth is the begetter of religion and cults."

The utopianism, the "Gothic," the mysticism of many of these designs, presented together in film scenes in Fritz Lang's *Nibelungen* and *Metropolis* as well as Robert Weine's *Kabinett des Doktor Caligari*, appeared to the American public to be a kind of unfathomable world of its own contrasting so vividly with the "white moderns."

This exhibition gives a piecemeal picture of Berlin, but it is not false.

An architect like Hans Poelzig saw Gothic as "Confused and double-columned, tottering between opposites."

It was just his metaphor for his period. In America it is the metaphor for Germany. Here, as there, it is a very current expression for the new, deliberate frankness in art.

Dankwart Guratzsch

(Die Welt, Bonn, 21 November

■ INFORMATION

Translators compare notes in a sylvan setting



Information, collaboration, professional and personal exchange were keynotes of this year's 19th Esslingen translators' conference, held by the German Translators' Association (VdÜ) and the translators' section of the German Writers' Association (VS).

For years the conference has been held not at Esslingen in the south-west but in Bergneustadt, east of Cologne, at the Friedrich Ebert Foundation's Alfred Nau residential college.

The college, nestling on the outskirts of town by the woods, is an ideal location for intellectual exchange.

This year the exchange mainly took place in various working and language groups that jointly translated texts, mostly of a literary nature, that members had individually prepared.

None of the texts failed to present problems and provide an incentive to arrive at a joint solution to them.

No-one who had previously translated the text on his or her own could fail to admit, when comparing it with the joint version, to an occasional slip or readiness to make do with less than the best.

Yet even after animated debate there constantly seemed to cases in which personal preference prevail. Even so, the seminars are a substantial stimulus, making translators think harder and work more accurately.

Is literary translation the top of the tree? Non-fiction is most translators' bread and butter. Klett-Cotta Verlag reader Hartmut Schickert began with an outline of how publishers would like to see it translated.

Non-fiction ranges from popular to science, from the lowliest to the most exalted level. But unlike academic or scientific work, it presupposes no specialised knowledge on either the reader's or the translator's part.

That is surely an opportunity for creative translation. Non-fiction translators have much more leeway than literary translators.

They can, for instance, improve on the poor style of the original and make important information more easily digestible. Foreign words, often more comprehensible in other languages, can be rendered in plain German.

The task must not just be to put across the meaning of the text but to convey the atmosphere. It is important to strike the right colloquial note and to steer a wide berth of terms too abstract and likely to make the text as dry as dust.

Above all, imagery can often not be translated literally. As in literary translation, a corresponding and appropriate comparison must be drawn. On occasion the translator need not avoid clichés.

Another serious mistake many translators made, Schickert said, was to retain too slavishly the original syntax, at times creating portmanteau sentences that could be avoided by translating more freely.

Non-fiction translators must be particularly aware of their share in the writer's task of making complex facts comprehensible to the general public, so playing an important part in helping to make information more widely available.

Schickert thus felt translating non-fiction must be seen as a cultural task rather than a mere livelihood.

Klaus Birkenhauer, president of both the VdÜ and the VS translators' section, made a similar appeal to the translator's sense of standards with reference to five of the "Nine Commandments" drawn up by ATELF, the VdÜ's French counterpart.

The first, arguably self-evident, was that no-one should translate from a language they didn't know well enough.

The second correspondingly stipulated that no-one should translate into a language other than their own, unless they were as proficient in it as they were in their native language.

Third, work should never be translated from a translation, always from the original, as otherwise little or nothing was usually left of the original.

The other two, surely no less self-evident, were that no translator should ev-er harm his colleagues by agreeing to poorer terms or translate works glorifying war or race hatred.

Yet examples showed that translators could well find themselves in a quandary.

Since 1978 a scientific and literary translation prize has been awarded every other year in memory of Helmut M. Braem.

This year it went to Karin Kersten for her translation from American English, especially of Djuna Barnes and her linguistic idiosyncrasies and difficulties.

They included extremely long, portmanteau sentences and odd metaphors, said Kyra Stromberg in her award address.

In a brief and humorous reply Karin Kersten said her conviction that the German language remained rich and expressive despite alleged media pauperisation had helped her in her quest for adequate translations.

She testified to the self-confidence of a translator who is not only well-versed in the language from which she translates but also, and above all, above average in command of her own language.

As always, the conference ended with a platform debate between a German writer and his translators.

Uwe Timm read extracts from his latest novel *Der Schlangenbaum* (The Tree of Serpents), with Peter Tegel reading from his as yet unfinished English translation for comparison.

Una Pfau

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 6 December 1986)

Specialist jargon lengthens the linguistic labyrinth

Interpreters and translators are finding it increasingly difficult and time-consuming to negotiate the world's linguistic labyrinth.

The international political, economic, technological and scientific nexus has led to an inundation of specialist terminology.

Specialist terminology is, by definition, readily understood only by the specialist. Yet interpreters and translators are expected to be conversant with all subjects.

No human brain can store more than a fraction of this terminology.

"Politicians are most inventive at coining new concepts," says Helmut Hartmann from Frechen, near Cologne, vice-president of the Federal Association of Interpreters and Translators (BDÜ).

The BDÜ's 3,600 members are full-time "linguistic intermediaries." Some work as court interpreters and official translators of classified documents for government and industry.

It held its First German Terminology Congress in Cologne as an initial attempt to call on the computer to redress the balance upset by mountains of specialist terms.

"Terminology is a tool of the translator's trade," says BDÜ president Hans Thomas Schwarz.

The president of the International Translators' Federation (FIT), Professor Anna Lilova from Prague, noted in her message of greeting that she expected the Cologne congress to contribute toward praxis-oriented systems of terminological cooperation.

By praxis she — and the congress — meant computer-aided translation, mechanical translation, artificial intelligence management systems, large-scale data banks and international computer networks,

Such networks might one day be in a position to relay to the individual translator's desktop monitor screen the full range of terminology in any living language required.

So far only a handful of computers have most inadequately taken the place of the card index on which translators still rely to find their way, if only just, round the terminological Tower of Babel.

Terminology computers are said to speed and cut the cost of translation, but they are unlikely ever to make translators superfluous.

Equipment currently available invariably produces unsatisfactory results in or from German. "German," Hartmann says, "is a very difficult language."

He quotes a line of verse that baffles computers but says computer systems that can translate technological terms quite well are already in use in the Federal Republic, not to mention Switzerland, Canada and Japan.

But what use are a few hundred thousand terms when chemistry alone has well over a million and other sectors are sure to have just as many? Computers and networks will need far-reaching further development.

Access to the European Community's Brussels language computer would certainly be welcome. Translation accounts for half the Community's manpower costs.

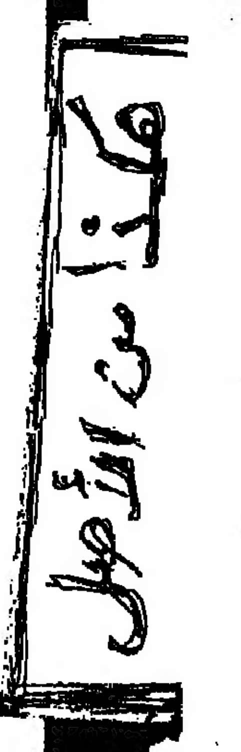
Three hundred interpreters and translators attended the Cologne congress. They included freelancers, civil servants and industrial staff and a fair number of foreigners.

BDÜ members have terminological difficulties of another kind. Their trade and its designation are not protected.

Anyone can call himself a simultaneous interpreter or specialist translator. BDÜ professionals are feeling the pinch of competition from unemployed teachers.

Hans Willenweber

(Bremer Nachrichten, 26 November 1986)



■ MEDICINE

Survey reveals some rheumatic conditions are caused by stress factors

Stress can cause any one of the rheumatic-type illnesses. The most meaningful way of dealing with it from the industrial medicine viewpoint is to look at a person's work so as to limit the demands made so that the job does not become in effect a stress factor.

Professor Theodor Hettinger, head of the industrial medicine department of Wuppertal University, came to this conclusion after a survey of the problem.

Before research was done into the causes of rheumatic illnesses, rheumatologists and industrial medicine specialists were united in the view that many jobs in today's industry and services present the dangers of rheumatic illnesses.

Professor Hettinger said that the expression "stress" has been borrowed from the materials testing sector and referes to "sensitivity" or "oppression." In no way does it have a negative connotation, for stress defined in this way is not fundamentally an illness, but maintains the body's capabilities.

What is regarded in ordinary life as "stress" is to the scientist "dis-tress" or "overstress."

This happens, according to Professor Hettinger, if the demands made on the body and the body's reactions do not concur. This factor he describes as a "stressor." There are quite a lot of these in the working life.

One "stressor" is that imposed by the increased efforts that have to be made to do over-time," to make up for a lack of time-off and time pressure.

These can result in possible poor performance and a lack of aptitude.

In addition environmental factors can have their effect such as noise, dust and the weather.

Other stress factors at work can be isolation or, on the other hand, people working too closely together, a lack of information about what is going on in the firm, or too much, or having to shoulder responsibility to which the worker is ill-suited.

Conflicts can also be included, particularly disagreements with superiors and work colleagues.Competition can also be a stress factor if this involves a sense of inadequacy or a lack of support.

Industrial medicine has recognised for a long time that a sense of disappointment that one's work is not appreciated, a change of job, an unplesant atmosphere at work and worry about loosing a job can be over-stress factors.

According to Hettinger the question when stress develops to "dis-tress" or "over-stress" depends on personal performance and qualifications.

The "least competent" are the least likely to be subject to stress, people with greater abilities are more subject to over-stress.

Hettinger's survey also took into consideration the different stress factors that can affect the two sexes at work. These differences are based on the difference in physical performance between men and women.

The danger of stress increases in young males at the rate of between five and seven per cent annually.

At twenty a young man has reached the peak of his physical abilities. These remain at this level for about ten years.

These abilities drop off gradually up to the age of 65 when they are 20 to 25 per cent lower than between the ages of 20 to 30.

Women achieve the peak of their physical performance between 14 and 16. By 20 they have about two-thirds of the physical capabilities of a man.

This declines as the woman gets older so that by 70 or 80 there is only a limited difference between the two sexes.

It is clear that when the same physical demands are made on women as men women are more endangered by over-stress with the subsequent effects on their health by these increased demands made than men.

df

(Bremer Nachrichten, 29 November 1986)

Warning about hypnosis

Scientists from various European countries warned about the abuse of hypnosis at a symposium of the European society for medical hypnosis, held at Dahn in the Palatinate.

The scientists warned of the dangerous consequences of hypnosis induced by the ignorant.

Klaus Thomas, president of the society and director of the Berlin hypnosis institute, told journalists that the use of hypnosis by amateurs or as a show gimmick, in a disco for instance, was "irresponsible and almost criminal."

Amateur hypnotists frequently cannot bring the person they have hypnotised back. Harm can result, shock for instance. It is possible that they will subsequently suffer from depression and psychic disorders.

Klaus Thomas said that there were no statistics that accurately reflected the extent of this abuse.

The society that includes about 100 doctors and university lecturers who are involved in hypnosis, demanded that hypnosis should only be used for medical purposes.

Although it is relatively easy to lean to hypnotise, hypnosis deeply involves all an individual's functions and its affects on a person are comparable to strong medication.

As in Israel the practice of hypnosis by amateurs should be forbidden by law in this country and the designation hypnotist protected, Klaus Thomas said.

According to the society hypnosis has been used in various aspects of medicine for years, or in psycho-therapy to deal with neuroses.

Hypnosis has also been used to ease pain such as migraine. In dentistry hypnosis has often been used to ease toothache.

dpa

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 4 December 1986)

Abortion: probe into how it affects women

Most women come through an abortion without any psychological after-effects, but twelve months after the operation a quarter still suffer from anxiety, a sense of guilt, depression and general discontent.

Women who are in difficult financial circumstances, alone or with a difficult partner particularly have trouble coping with an abortion.

These were the findings of a Kiel University survey of 117 women who had an abortion on medical grounds. They were questioned before the operation to terminate their pregnancy and a year afterwards.

More than a half of the women talked of moodiness before and after they were aborted. But within a month most women had got over it.

One in five of the women complained that a year after they felt disgruntled from time to time. A quarter of those questioned in the survey suffered from a sense of guilt.

Many suffered from the feeling that they had aborted the only child they would ever have. The sight of another pregnant women or small children brought on a sense of regret and the anxiety that, because of the abortion, they had probably become barren. One in ten of the women suffered from nightmares.

Authors of the study, Professor Reinhard Wille, Dr Winfried Barnett and Nahid Freudenberg, published their study in the 54/86 issue of the medical magazine *Fortschritte der Neurologischen Psychiatrie*.

They went about it in three ways: a questionnaire about punishment or guilt anxieties because of the abortion, a questionnaire about variations in the women's moods and, third, the personal impressions of each woman.

Women who were assessed with high points in at least two of these means of investigation were regarded as the group with problems.

According to these criteria 21 per cent of the women had difficulties coming to terms with the emotional aspects. A third were clearly harmed

The three scientists who conducted the survey believe that these psychic consequences could lead to permanent harm.

They compared these two groups with one another to discover why some women came through an abortion without any trouble while others could not find their balance again for a year or so afterwards.

Usually this showed that emotional problems increased in direct relationship to the problems the women had with her partners and money.

Other factors included being among the low-paid and the view that sexuality and propagation were inseparable.

The women whose partner had pushed them to have an abortion overcame the operation worst of all.

The survey showed that women were more likely to suffer from emotional disturbances as a result of an abortion if they were given poor advice before hand.

This indicates that the women whom legislators have in mind in calling for a tightening up of the abortion laws suffer mainly after an abortion.

But the Kiel scientists believe that denying an abortion to these women would not help them very much.

They suggested that more women should be given psycho-therapy after the operation.

(Bremer Nachrichten, 29 November 1986)

■ HORIZONS

Old peoples champion says demand, don't beg



There is a life — and it's BEFORE death," wrote Trude Unruh in her book, *Call to rebellion — the Grey Panthers make History.*

The founder and leader of the Panthers, a pressure group acting for old people, wrote: "Clubs for old people must be political education centres in which people learn how they've been misled all their lives . . . they must be centres of explanation and rebellion. If not, close them down!"

Strong words. But it is this very policy of provocation and aggression that makes the country sit up and take notice. When the Panthers speak for their membership of between 10,000 and 15,000, and threaten to act, people like heads of social welfare authorities and old people's homes jump.

Frau Unruh has learnt in her varied political career (she was once known as "Trude the Red") how effectively to handle action in public — it is best in front of running television cameras.

She was first in the SPD and then in the FDP and then in a Greens splinter organisation organised by a former CDU man, Herbert Gruhl. Then she tried forming a pensioners party but landed up in a Citizens Party, a party with doubtful pedigree. Then she went in with the Greens proper and is now high on the North Rhine-Westphalian *Land* list for the general election next month.

She whips up fervour and feeling whatever she does. It has paid off. It has exposed to public gaze issues such as how easy it is to: put old people into care; to certify them as being unfit to run their own affairs; to consign them to psychiatric care; to keep them nice and quiet with drugs; and to keep them bound to their beds in homes.

The Panthers' have lawyers, social workers and doctors available. There are many unpaid workers at 170 regional centres. Their aim is to try and prevent old people from being forced into homes and to get care orders quashed. The centres try to get money released so that old people, sometimes with younger people, can move in small groups into apartments.

A reporter on the *Süddeutsche Zeitung* told what started it all off for Frau Unruh. Her mother-in-law used to go to a morning coffee meeting. One day a regular member, an old lady, did not come. She had suddenly been shoved be her children into an old people's home. "There she stood, bedecked in her finery — crying."

It is said that Frau Unruh talks more quickly than she thinks, that she certainly wants to stop old people from being certified, and thus lose control of their own affairs, through what she calls the "welfare mafia" and through "administrative socialism", but also that she also demands that all this effort is done as part of her empire.

The result: rebellion among the troops in parts of the country. Some have pulled out of the Wuppertal headquarters.

But despite the quarrel, the aims remain much the same. They want a minimum pension of between 1,000 marks and 1,500 marks a month so old people don't contantly have to go with begging bowl to the social security people.

They also want nursing allowance money to be paid to both old people and young, handicapped people in cash rather than being channelled through the various authorities and care agencies.

Old people should be able to avoid the feeling of being completely at the mercy of the system. Therefore they should, say the Grey Panthers, be able to change homes without without giving a reason.

The Grey Panthers want changes in the laws governing homes so that care is maintained but the element of freedom is increased.

The organisation wants, as far as possible, to do without homes for the old, care homes and psychiatric homes. Instead there should be changes enabling people to have more say in running their own lives.

Law changes are wanted so that hasty certification becomes impossible and , in cases where people are certified, there should be regular checks to make sure that it is justified.

This checking should be by an independent body such as a court every three years.

Frau Unruh knew that all this was beyond the Grey Panthers. Allies were needed. Four years ago she turned to the Greens: "They offered to speak for all social movements. And, of course, the Grey Panthers are a social movement. But what lent weight to their offer was their commitment to put the Grey Panthers case to the Bundestag. Because of this, we're not green. We remain grey. But we've got a voice in Parliament."

The deal with the Greens has split the movement. It is reported that Frau Unruh has sent a fifth of the membership packing.

She lightly dismisses the affair simply as a clash between the tie-and-collar faction and the pinafore-and-overalls faction. But it has more to do with her deal with the Greens.

But there is not a lot of difference in the aims of the factions, especially when Frau Unruh writes: "At communal level, the Grey Panthers — depending on the opinion of each district — will in many cases work with the Green Alternative List because there is more to be gained from *Land* parliaments than from the various old people's advisory boards which have been created by the politicians as fobbing-off centres and alibis to make it look as if there is a policy of helping old people when there isn't.

"We reject these boards as unimaginative and unauthoritative manoeuvres designed by politicians to hoodwink."

The Grey Panthers in Germany are based on the American organisation of the same name which has 100,000 members. Researcher Brigitte Donicht-Fluck com pares the two in her book, *Wrinkled Radicals.* She says the two overestimate their influence. The reason is that the media in both countries take notice of them because they make more noise than many other organisations with bigger memberships.

The differences between the American and the German Panthers, she says, are at least as numerous as their similarities. The German Grey Panthers understand themselves as an organisation basically to help old people, despite the occasional links with younger people and despite the slogan "Today us — tomorrow you".

It's no use being quiet, says Trude Unruh. (Photos: Poly-Press)

By contrast, the Americans have broader aims. They are fighting "against discrimination because of age, race or sex" and consciously use grandparents and grandchildren together against the in-between generations.

Perhaps the German organisation is also headed in this direction. Frau Unruh has already hinted that "the pinafore-and-overalls brigade can be what they want to be. Most talk like us and live like us."

Renate Faerber-Husemann

(Deutsche Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, Hamburg, 30 November 1986)

Woman MP's nude-cartoon suit rejected

A Berlin judge has rejected on a technicality an 80,000-mark damages claim against the Swiss-based Penthouse publishing company by Petra Kelly, a member of the Bonn Bundestag and one of Germany's most prominent Greens.

She had been featured in caricature, naked with her back and turned-round head facing the viewer. Her right arm rested, wild-west fashion, on the butt of a Colt .45 sitting in a holster dangling from a black leather belt. She wore black stiletto-heeled boots. The drawing appeared in the "VIP Calendar" in March last year.

The issue before the court was: was this a matter of unlawful invasion of privacy or of artistic freedom?

Frau Kelly's counsel, Anne Klein, said it was not a case of seeing a good opportunity of collecting 80,000 marks. The money would be given to a charity for children with cancer.

She said Frau Kelly was not a "terrible prude". Nevertheless, she objected to the naked female form being used for promotion purposes.

Frau Klein said it was "typical" that the calendar featured the portraits of 12 politicians, two of whom were women and that one of them was naked.

It was the purpose of a caricature to reveal the personal characteristics of a person and make them appear ridiculous through overdrawing.

The caricature was suggesting that Frau Kelly had used sex as a tool in politics. That was an untrue suggestion. She stood for non-violence and disarmament.

Penthouse's lawyer, Vera Movsessian, said the caricature had been drawn by a well-known Israeli artist, 34-year-old Ori Hofmekler. Its purpose had simply been to express the Greens' political ideas of "back to nature" and "off with the encumbrances of civilisation."



Petra Kelly is no prude, says her lawyer.

The Colt revolver was an attempt to capture the fighting character of the Greens. It had nothing to do with the problem of sex and power. On the contrary, it had everything to do with artistic licence.

Frau Kelly wanted nothing other than a set of rules to lay down what a cartoon should portray and to limit artistic licence. Frau Movsessian said there were only two women featured in the calendar for the simple reason that there were so few women in leading positions in politics. There weren't many as interesting as Frau Kelly and "she should feel honoured to be drawn by such a famed cartoonist."

Others featured in the calendar, which was shown in court, included British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher with a football, short trousers and cellulitis on the thigh; President Reagan as the man in the whisky advertisement ("Ronnie Walker"); Bonn Defence Minister Manfred Wörner wrapped in a bath towel and using a tube of lipstick; and Bavarian Premier Franz Josef Strauss with a naked stomach and a hand covering his private parts.

The court was told that 3,000 copies of the calendar had been produced and all members of Parliament in Bonn had received one as a present.

The judge, Gerhard Siebert, said there were legal precedents for saying that people in public life had to be prepared to expect a certain amount of fun to be poked at them. There had to be plenty of scope for freedom of opinion and artistic licence.

He rejected the plaintiff's claim however, not on these grounds, but because the suit had been adressed to the wrong people, an editor and a company within the Penthouse group which had had nothing to do with the production of the calendar.

NB: German playwright Rolf Hochhuth sat in court following the case with furrowed brow "in the hope that the freedom of art would remained unimpinged." He said he had come along out of sympathy for Ori Hofmekler and out of "abhorrence for a German politician who goes to court because of a caricature."

Birgit Loff

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 21 November 1986)

■ CRIME

Why terrorism attracts so many women

Women are only responsible for between ten and 15 per cent of crime in West Germany, yet 14 of the country's 21 most wanted terrorists are women.

They plan the murders say terror authorities, and are brutal in putting the plans into action. Does terrorism have a particular attraction for German women? Behavioural experts don't know.

In October, witness descriptions led investigators to believe that Red Army Faction (RAF) terrorist Barbara Meyer was responsible for shooting dead diplomat Gerold von Braunmühl at point-blank range.

In July, Meyer is thought to be the principal culprit for the remote-controlled bomb that blew up Professor Karl-Heinz Beckurts, a Siemens executive, as he drove to work.

In the 1970s women were in leading positions in the RAF. In 1977 a third of top terrorists were women. Ulrike Meinhof decisively influenced the ideology of German terrorism in the bloody years of politically-motivated violence.

The expression Baader-Meinhof gang is misleading, because Andreas Baader, as described by former colleagues, was a a common criminal interested only in violence.

Gudrin Ensslin and Brigitte Mohnhaupt were later the group's ideologists.

The new generation of female terrorists are primarily pragmatists, more interested in murdering representatives of the state's military and economic estabishment than on garnishing their crimes with "doctrines of salvation."

It is believed that a women was involved in the killing of the US soldier, Pimental, near Frankfurt two years ago.

The unsuspecting young American was lured from a disco by a woman to a lovers' lane where he was murdered by an accomplice.

The terrorists needed his identification papers to get into Pimental's airbase and plant a bomb.

Meyer has taken part in several murders besides von Braunmühl's and Beckurts'.

Only a few of the women see much value in disguising themselves. An RAF photograph of Inge Viett for instance, found in 1984, was very like the picture of her in the official terrorists wanted sheet put out by the police.

Gisela Dutzi was arrested in Darmstadt in 1983 because of her picture on this police poster.

An informed source said that the photo itself was responsible for her capture.

Security experts believe that it is left to the individual members of the terrorist gang to disguise themselves or not.

An analysis of the careers of the female terrorists indicates little about the origins of their violence. What is noticeable is many of them were university students who did not graduate, mainly in the sociology disciplines.

From the very outset this group of women shows clearly a social involvement, but as they gain experience of life they become disappointed. Their own radical standards do not measure up to reality. As far as can be ascertained this is true of all top women terrorists, with two exceptions.

There does seem to be, however, a second factor that drives women into terrorism. This is a relationship with a man who is involved in political violence. This applies to about two-thirds of the female terrorists.

It is more likely, through, that various motives are mixed together to increase their inclination to violence.

Futile participation in political groupings and citizens' initiative campaigns can play a part.

If the anti-movement based on democratic methods fails then the fanatic turns to catapults, Molotov cocktails and later to remote-controlled bombs.

Put all these together and there is a radical rejection of society and the social realities.

Officials involved in the hunt for terrorists smile at explanations of this kind. The scientific world has examined enormous quantities of material dealing with the subject, and several more or less meaingful explanations of why women take to terrorism have been made.

- Terrorism is the extreme expression of female emancipation.
- Terrorism is the result of greater female sensibilities.
- There is a marked link between lesbians and terrorism,
- There is a desire to emulate men.

Experts are not prepared, however, to go as far as to say these points are true for the female terrorist successors of Ulrike Meinhof.

It is interesting to note, however, that female terrorists are between 25 and 42. This suggests that the first generation of female terrorists has successfully maintained continuity by recruiting politically effective successors.

There is an additional problem for security officials. It is not easy to present a criminal image of women.

Security officials are mainly men, drawn usually from military circles. They have a psychological barrier to hunting down a woman as a criminal. This is equally true of a criminal duo masquerading as a married couple.

Furthermore this is closely related to the psychological inhibitions among the public at large, and given greater credibility by the media, that women are not linked to crime.

However, women have played a leading role in the RAF. Their aggressive supremacy has been made obvious by the violence of the past few months.

Women were prominent in the planning and presentation of the Anti-Imperialist Congress, a conglomeration of RAF sympathisers.

It is obvious that in comparison with foreign terrorist groups West German groups have a large proportion of women among their members. But there are fanatical women in Palestinian groups and the Italian Red Brigade as well.

Are women the motivating force behind terrorism? They are an essential factor in political violence. Together with their male companions they threaten society.

Their activities should not be forgotten. Everything should be done to prevent men and women from drifting into political violence.

Thomas Wittke

(General-Anzeiger, Bonn, 27 November 1986)

Figures show that criminals are overwhelmingly men

Why do women commit fewer crimes than men? Don't know, is the authoritative answer.

The Justice Minister in North Rhine-Westphalia, Rolf Krumsiek (SPD) reckons the question should be reversed. Why are men so criminally inclined?

If, he said at a meeting to issue a brochure on female crime and prisons, men were as law-abiding as women, most prisons could be closed and criminal courts would have their work cut by two thirds.

According to police statistics there were 307,383 women suspected of crime nationwide as opposed to 983,616 men in 1985. In North-Rhine Westphalia only 17 per cent of all sentences passed by the courts involved women. Twenty per cent of men were given prison sentences, but only eleven per cent of the women.

Many women are given suspended sentences, so only 560 women were in North Rhine-Westphalia's prisons at 31 October compared with 14,670 men.

Statistics show that the situation is much the same both in other *Länder* and in other countries. In Britain, Holland, France, Austria and the United States the disparity between female and male crime is the same, the minister said.

Because women are not involved in major crime there were fewer of them that have to go to prison, he added.

It is often said, but has never been proven, that women are rarely brought to court because male victims of their crimes have inhibitions about accusing a woman. Male investigators and judges are prone to being lenient to the fair sex.

This could explain why fewer women, accused of criminal acts, are given prison sentences than men who are convicted.

Criminologists and psychologists have attempted to explain why women commit fewer crimes by pointing out that they have less energy for crime due to their weaker constitution and their peaceful nature.

Minister Krumsiek commented that this was a typical male prejudice.

He believes that it is more to the point that a women is less likely to commit crime because her role in society is in the home with the children.

Many experts went along with the theory that as women became more and more emancipated and took up careers they would be more inclined to crime.

Until recently the figures seemed to support this viewpoint. Last year there were 307,383 women suspected of crimes, 75 per cent more than in 1970. During this period male crime only increased 16 per cent.

Rolf Krumsiek explained that in the period 1970-1983 the number of women sentenced for crime increased 62 per cent, among men only eleven per cent.

But in the last two years the number of sentences in North-Rhine Westphalia dropped, among men by eleven per cent and 15 per cent among women. These figures for sentences passed indicate that in the past two years there has been a general drop in crime and that the courts are dealing with serious crime more leniently.

But why has the figure for women sentenced dropped so much more so than among men? Could a factor be that because of the high figures for unemployment among women more are having to remain at home?

Doubts have been expressed about this theory as well. In 1882 twenty per cent of those sentenced were women. Last year, excluding traffic convictions, 21 per cent of those handed down a sentence were women.

These figures show that despite emancipation and more and more women going out to work the crime figure has hardly altered at all.

Minister Krumsiek said that there was still no adequate explanation why women were less prone to crime than men.

A solution to the puzzle could result in new policies for dealing with crime.

If it was just known why men were considerably more inclined to crime then they could perhaps be induced to emulate women.

Minister Krumsiek says that if men were no more inclined to crime than women, instead of 193,000 sentences being handed down in North-Rhine Westphalia last year there would have been only 63,000.

Horst Zimmermann

(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 28 November 1986)

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corations to a love-story, that only reflects in an unreal way the historical circumstances.

Ingemo Engström has tried to make of Klaus Mann's book material for a political film. But what was presented in the book as material to hold the story together, is given greater importance in the film. The idyllic sequences in the film make a nonsense of the pathetic script.

At one point in the film Joanna and Ragnar go into a cinema and see a German newsreel on the organisation of Nazi broadcasting.

The scene is short enough for it is one of the few scenes in this film that gives some idea of what contempory life was like.

Andreas Kilb

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 3 December 1986)

Bauhaus

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the world of the court. That these pictures should be displayed in a castle of all places is acceptable for the rooms on the ground floor of the Knobelsdorff Wing have been sophisticatedly renovated and furnished in a modern style.

The historical Frederick the Great rooms are one storey higher.

After the Schinkel works there are paintings by the Nazarenes, a group of German romantic, religious painters from the beginning of the 19th century, and the Dresden romantics with works by Kersting.

The brilliant works of the Berlin landscape painter Carl Blechen are on show in rooms isolated by two cabinets.

He died young. There are 23 of his paintings in the collection dealing with macabre, portentous themes such as *Grabmal* and *Das Innere des Palmhauses.* These are pictures that depict a longing for a distant, warmer, more beautiful world.

Beyond the vestibule important Berlin Biedermeier works are on display; Eduard Gärtner, who painted with such precision the Berlin of the mid-1800s, and Franz Krüger who made his name painting pictures of horses and the hunt.

The collection of romantic paintings ends with ten pictures by Carl Spitzweg, including the much-loved painting of the poor poet,

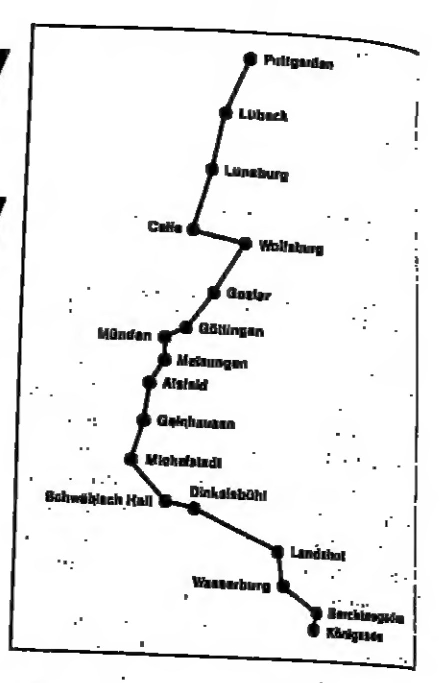
This is regarded by many as an objective but sorrowful description of a bitter reality. But the picture is also seen by many art experts, however, as a satire of the uncritical and over-estimated role the poet played in the artistic life of the period.

Liselotte Müller

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 29 November 1986)

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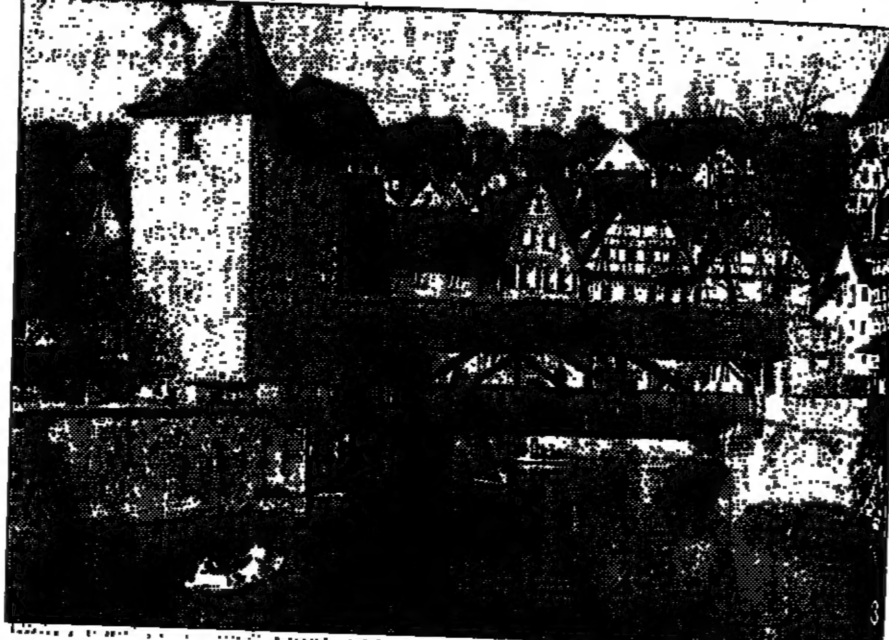




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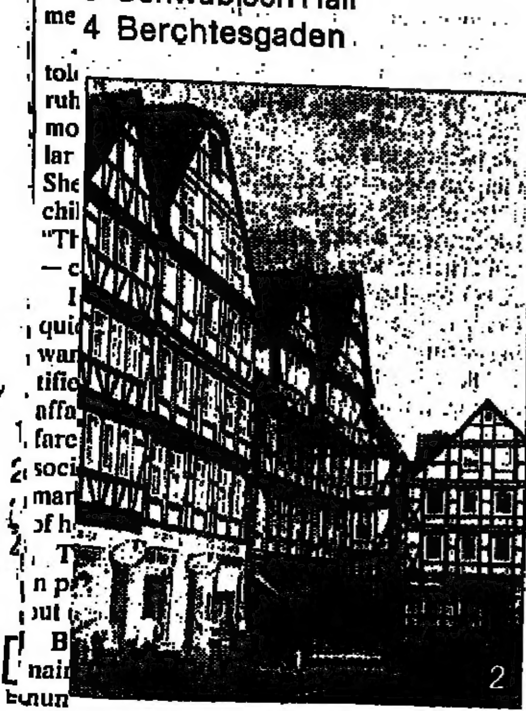
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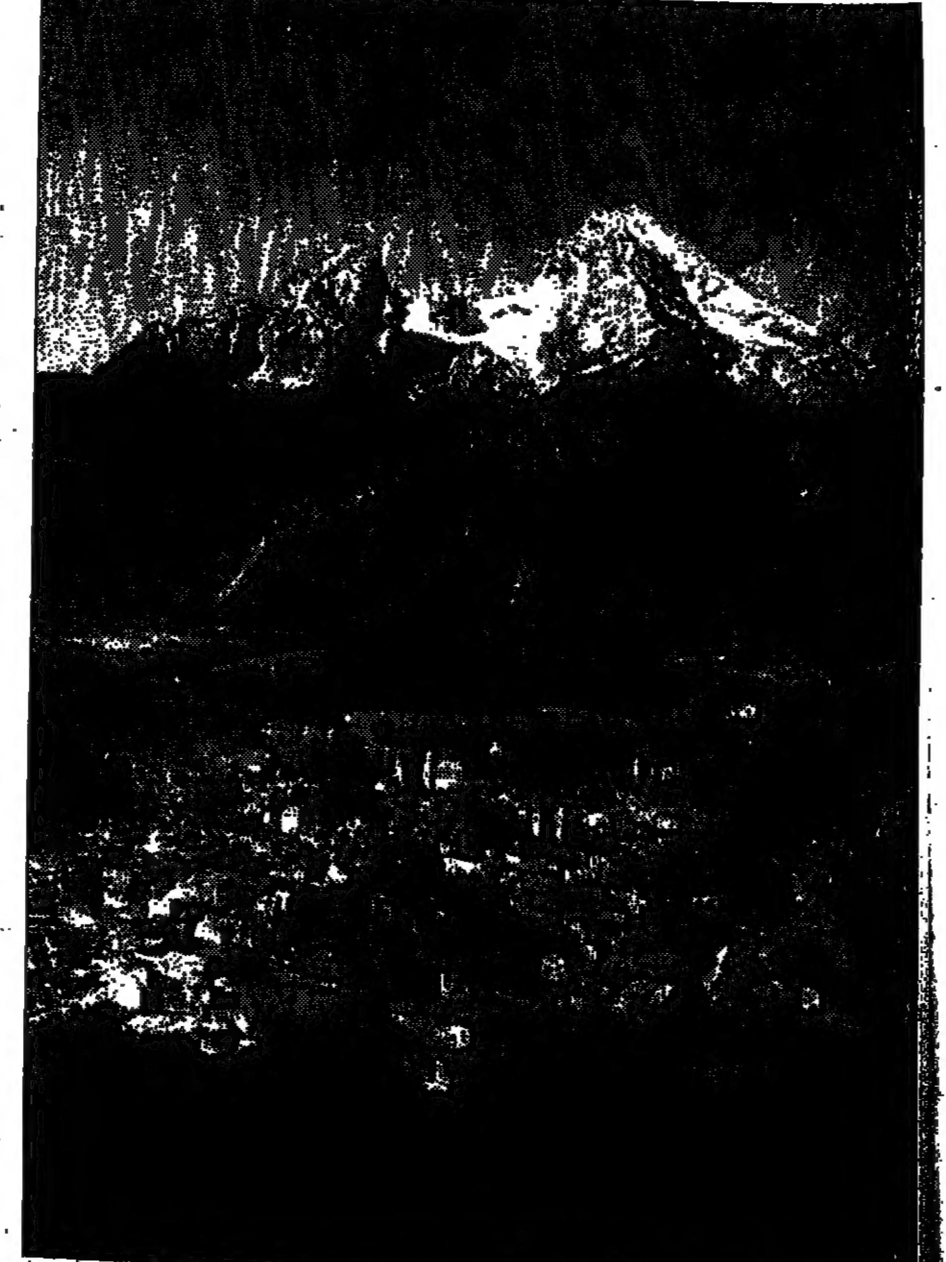


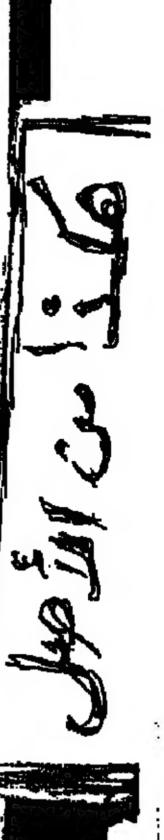
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1 Lübeck
2 Melsungen
3 Schwäbisch Hall
4 Berchtesgaden



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